Harry Truman

P96

A STUDY OF "WITCH HUNTING" AND MASS HYSTERIA IN AMERICA

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A STUDY OF MASS HYSTERIA AND "WITCH-HUNTING" IN AMERICA

SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT

BY BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT B. LANDRY

31 OCTOBER 1949

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PREFACE

The history of the American Republic is replete with instances of attempts to compel unwavering adherence to dogma - the status quo - whether it be economic, political, social or religious. Frequently, this defensive and retrenching approach to the problems of our democracy has been accompanied by widespread mass hysteria. On occasion, public excitation has intensified to the point where historians have identified this social phenomenon as a "witch-hunt."

It is the purpose of this study to investigate and report upon the various manifestations of mass hysteria and "witch-hunting" in American history, with a view to analyzing the deep-seated causes and identifying the symptoms leading to past out-croppings which have endangered our free institutions. In so doing, we may achieve a better understanding of the nature of the present public anxiety.

Periods of national stress have come and gone before. Their departure has been hastened only when the people have been restored to their normal senses. Armed with this perspective, Americans who may be inclined to yield to the easy temptation to follow the mob in dealing with the current "Red Scare" may instead be persuaded to act according to the

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dictates of their conscience and common sense before this situation gets out of hand.

In any study of mass hysteria and "witch-hunting" in the United States, it has been found impossible to dissociate these phenomena from concurrent evidences of the suppression of non-conformity. Acknowledging such a close relationship, we have approached the problems presented in this study by accepting two major premises:

First, the desire to resist normal growth in our Democracy frequently has led to persecution of non-conformity and to the out-cropping of mass hysteria. This is contrary to our historic tradition of continuing inquiry and protest against seeming injustice. Fundamentally, it is un-American.

Second, mass hysteria and its hand-maiden, "witch-hunting", appeal to the basest human drives and instincts. A mob action which takes the law into its own hands to attain some social objective is undemocratic and therefore un-American.

At the present time, a vast number of American people are greatly concerned with the possible subversion of our way of life by Communism. In the course of the mortal ideological combat which has pitted Democracy, firm believer in the

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principle that the state exists for its citizens, and totalitarianism, which subordinates the individual to the state, our national anxiety has intensified. This developing crisis has played directly into the hands of those who seek to use it to further their own selfish ends. A number of Americans, high in the councils of government, have interpreted the ensuing so-called "cold war" as one which should be met by halting our forward progress toward the liberal goals which have been set to meet the ever-changing needs of democracy. They have not hesitated to pervert the tense concern of the people into a veritable "witch-hunt" directed at every semblance of liberalism as it appears.

As a result of these well-publicized activities, America has appeared at a disadvantage among the embattled people of Europe and Asia who must ultimately choose between democracy and totalitarianism. These people, for whose support the United States and Russia are presently vying, have interpreted our failure to disavow the attempts to stampede us into a suppression of all liberalism as hypocrisy and pretense. If we wish to gain their confidence and support, we must set an example in our daily lives by deed as well as word. We must resolutely reject any move to foist totalitarianism upon us at home while we fight it abroad.

To practice as well as preach Democracy implies the tolerance of non-conformity, whose thread is tightly interwoven into the fabric of our National existence. Almost everyone upholds the commonplace ideals of American liberty when nothing but platitudes are at stake. Yet, the most glorious pages of our history have been recorded in terms of the deeds of those who have had the temerity, in times of excitement and National stress, to champion American ideals.

It is believed that the present National anxiety is temporary and that our Democracy will, as it has in the past, demonstrate its remarkable recuperative powers. From the standpoint of the perspective it offers us today, we might profitably recall the pertinent comment of James Madison with respect to an earlier crisis in our history when he said:

> "We have, it is true, occasional fevers, but they are of the transient kind flying off thro' the surface, without preying on the vitals. A government like ours has so many safety-valves giving vent to overheated passions, that it carries within itself a relief against the infirmities from which the best of human Institutions cannot be exempt." 1/

With this affirmation of faith in Democracy in mind, we undertake this historical examination of mass hysteria and "witch-hunting" in America.

1/ James Madison, Writings, vol IX, p. 36 (Letter to Marquis de La Fayette, Montpelier, Vermont, November 25, 1820)

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PART I

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO "WITCH-HUNTS"

A. Historical Background

When examining the accounts of medieval witchcraft, we are dealing with the remains of a pagan religion which survived in Europe until the 18th Century, 1400 years after the introduction of Christianity there.

The original legal definition of a witch used in England was "a person who hath conference with the Devil to consult with him or to do some act." Loosely interpreted, this could mean all things to all men, and generally did, if the history of the wholesale inquisitions in Western Europe between the 13th and 18th Centuries is a fair indication.

That portion of the Western Hemisphere later absorbed into the United States was explored, settled, and developed in large measure by persons who left Europe to avoid persecution for their non-conformity. Yet, for a time, the settlers were no less guilty. In early America, theocracy cracked the whip of its authority with fanatical vigor. It was not above invoking the terrors of witchcraft to frighten questioning congregations into absolute submission to official dogma.

What importance does any study of medieval and colonial

witchcraft have for us in this enlightened day and age? At least two very significant conclusions may be drawn from it:

1. Essentially, those witch trials were not prompted by theological hair-splitting, by systems of Devil lore, or by the text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." All these things came after the fact. It was self-protection that incited the accusers. Their cause was fear -- and fear of bodily harm. The witch was considered a menace, or one who might become one at the slightest provocation. The feeling was that society was justified in doing away with her, him, or them.

2. Therefore, in the matter of witchcraft, if anywhere, public opinion always remained supreme. The populace might, perhaps, be restrained by the more enlightened part of the community, but the perpetrators of the state of public excitation could not prosecute with success without public approbation. "Witch-hunting" never flourished unless the common people were ready for it. It was to them that the officers of the law looked for testimony. It was the people's jury that rendered the verdict. Experience had taught, over and over again, that the most skeptical jurist, wishing to judge the case according to its legal merits, had to

acquiesce in the decision of the mob when the neighborhood whence the jury came was convinced of the reality of the crime.

The belief that witches were driven by some external force to do harm to the commonwealth and could be removed only by community-wide counterattack has proved to be readily adaptable in the contemporary scene. The first organized native heresy-hunt in the United States, directed against high crimes other than witchery (witchcraft (?)), followed the French Revolution. The ideas of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" had burst like a bomb-shell all over the Western world and had made non-conformity a most attractive virtue. It was to nullify the effects of these revolutionary doctrines that organized techniques of arousing public opinion were invoked by appealing to mob prejudices steeped in ignorance and superstition. In the course of one hundred and fifty or more years of refinement, these techniques, as exemplified in the contemporary scene, have been vastly improved.

B. Definition

A "witch-hunt" is a calculated campaign of repression and persecution originating in fear which, in turn, induces and is fed by a state of agitated public opinion. It is

directed against some political, economic, social, or religious group on the pretext that this group, or ideas attributed to this group, constitute a threat to some basic pillar of society.

This campaign may become all-pervasive to the point where charges are flung about indiscriminately, and the accused are tried and convicted in the court of inflamed public opinion. The sentence may run the gamut between social ostracism and extreme physical force.

C. Fundamental Causes

A "witch-hunt" may be set off by persons in or near the seat of government who feel a deep-seated insecurity in the face of real or fancied dangers stemming from widespread infection of non-conformist ideas. Such ideas are construed to challenge some integral part of the then existing way of life which, in the eyes of the insecure persons, [has become identified] ~~have assumed an identity~~ with the status quo. Public opinion will be marshalled forthwith to repel this "foreign (i.e. un-American) invasion."

A "witch-hunt" may also be instigated by a minority group seeking to obtain control or a greater voice in government councils. This object may be neatly accomplished by focusing the spotlight of publicity in another direction, thereby

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diverting attention from covert attempts to gain some economic, political or social advantage. By astute management on the part of the "witch-hunters," the public press and other media of news dissemination will be preoccupied with charges of "high crimes" in the nature of espionage, disloyalty in high places, subversion of the educational system and other "alarums and excursions." Inevitably, a state of mass hysteria will be developed at an accelerating pace.

In either case, the punishment may be varied. In the past it has included a liberal use of tar brush and hempen noose or even burning at the stake, although these methods have come into relative disuse in the last century. In recent times it has been found equally effective to ostracize people by leveling unsubstantiated charges at them, besmirching their reputations, denying them the right to employment, and generally creating the impression that they are subversive and dangerous, not only to the state, but also to anybody who comes near them.

D. Immediate Cause

A suitable framework favorable to the development of mass hysteria, a necessary adjunct to the "witch-hunt", is an air of National crisis such as a depression, a major war, or a

definite threat of either. This atmosphere is conducive to molding sharp reactions of public opinion and evoking primitive, anti-social responses which need only the spark of an "incident" to precipitate a dangerous chain of events.

E. The Inevitable Result

The resort to sometimes illegal -- but always undemocratic -- means of accomplishing National or group objectives in the United States has tended to weaken respect for the Bill of Rights, the bulwark of all our personal freedoms. The weapon of "witch-hunting" is no exception. The people -- the unwitting dupes -- frequently learn to their dismay that the "American Way of Life" is threatened, not by the so-called "foreign invasion", but by those who mustered them in its defense. This is the supreme irony.

The end result has invariably worked against the best interests of the people of the Nation. Intensification of racial, religious or class antagonisms has set one group off against another. Inevitably, the tensions arising out of each antagonism weaken the bonds of law and order which keep society intact, and facilitate the next attempt to achieve a partisan objective by means of mob rule. The path of some form of totalitarianism is made smoother with each success of mob rule.

PART II

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MASS HYSTERIA IN AMERICA

A. Witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, 1692

The Salem delusion was the first large-scale demonstration of public frenzy in the Western Hemisphere arising from indiscriminate charges of "witchery" flung at persons in every walk of life. The wild charges of a few adolescent girls were framed in the dangerous surroundings of a high-strung community endangered by Indians at all times and striving to eke a bare existence from undeveloped resources, coupled with the deep-seated insecurity of one Reverand Parris, concerned with a widening estrangement of his congregation on doctrinal grounds.

The gullibility of the community was an important factor in the witchcraft delusion of 1692. The insupportable charges were given credibility (?) in court by terrorized judges and juries, fearful lest the finger of "witchery" be pointed at them in revenge by the unscrupulous perpetrators of the delusion. A number of persons were hanged and many others jailed. When the charges began to be leveled at even the most respected citizens of Salem, the ludicrous state of affairs became apparent to all concerned with shocking suddenness. The "witch-hunt"

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ceased as abruptly as it had begun. (Please see Tab A for source material.)

B. Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798-1800

This legislation was enacted by the Federalists with the avowed purpose of protecting America from the infiltration of Jacobinism, a radical by-product of the French Revolution. Actually, the Federalists wished to perpetuate themselves in power by silencing criticism under pain of fine and imprisonment. They wished also to disenfranchise those French-born Americans who would be likely to support Jefferson's Democratic Republicans. The Acts also served to divert attention from both the unpopular Jay Treaty, signed in 1794 with England, and certain election irregularities during the Presidential Campaign of 1796.

The opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts was spearheaded by James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. They helped draft the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, respectively, which opened the path of political thinking to the possibilities of secession if the Federalists were successful in their scheme to usurp for the Federal Government the powers delegated to the states. Jefferson made this very issue the basis of his campaign in 1800. The Federalists were soundly defeated, whereupon President Jefferson released all political prisoners

convicted under terms of the Acts, which he permitted to expire. Their passing was unmourned by the people. (Please see Tab B for source material.)

C. Antimasonry, 1826-1840

This movement combined nativist and religious prejudices against a harmless fraternal order on the grounds that its secretly-conducted rites were "plotting" one thing or another. The National Republican Party, soon to go into limbo, seized upon Antimasonry as a political weapon in an effort to vault their already discredited candidate, President John Q. Adams, into a second term of office.

The appropriate "incident" which sparked the Antimasonic movement involved one William Morgan. He was alleged to have been done away with by the Masons on the pretext that he was about to expose their secret practices, whereupon the Masons were accused of an infinite variety of crimes ranging from sacrilege and profaning the Holy Scriptures to sexual excesses, organized murder and plotting against the liberties of the people.

There were profound political and religious overtones as the country divided into two camps. President Adams made Antimasonry a major campaign issue and failed. Antimasonry continued to flourish, however, and in 1832 even ran its own

Presidential candidate, one William Wirt. After 1835, it began to decline, although it left in its wake a trail of hate and intolerance in terms of numerous incidents involving mob violence. (Please see Tab C for source material.)

D. Know-Nothingism, 1840-56

This strictly nativist phenomenon lifted the mantle of mob hysteria from the dissipating Antimasonic fervor and molded it into a streamlined aggressive nationalistic movement. Such statements as "100% American" or "America for Americans", having a natural appeal to prejudices, were widespread.

mixed figures of speech. Simplify!

Superficially, Know-Nothingism was a flag-waving type of Americanism. Fundamentally, its mission was a thinly-disguised appeal to anti-Catholicism. It was the first organized movement of this kind in the history of the United States. It seems that second generation American citizens (the Constitution was over fifty years of age at this time) resented the intrusion of thousands of immigrants who were flocking to this country. Among them were many Irish-Catholics fleeing a combination of the potato famine and British persecution. Unfortunately, they were not too well received in many parts of the country. They served as an ideal target for political and religious bigots who were responsible for a decade of rioting and terror, including a successful attempt to steal a portion of the Washington

Monument, then building. Apparently, the sponsors of the Monument had asked for and received thousands of contributions, including a block of marble which had originally stood in the Temple of Concord at Rome, a gift from the Pope. The vandals, amid cries of "popery" and the like, tossed the marble block into the Potomac River.

This incident estranged many people. Work on the incompleted Monument ceased. It did not start up again until 26 years later.

In the years immediately preceding the Civil War, Know-Nothingism assumed secondary importance to the furious struggle surrounding the issue of slavery. It simmered below the surface of public consciousness and was re-born in the Ku-Klux Klan of the post-Civil War era. (Please see Tab D for source material.)

E. Slavery, The "Peculiar Institution," 1820-61

The threat of Abolition stirred the planter aristocracy in the South to defend slavery, without which, it was thought, the South would be economically and politically eclipsed. Thereupon ensued a veritable reign of terror to silence all anti-slavery sentiment or at least keep it contained above the Mason-Dixon Line. The issue was put to the South on a different basis -- a "damyankee" invasion of the hallowed South.

It was not surprising that the uneducated "poor whites" were more bitterly hostile to abolitionists than the owners of hundreds of slaves. The planters had discovered that by playing the whites off against the negro population to the tune of racial supremacy, ~~it~~ they could successfully fend off any challenge to ~~its~~ their semi-feudal control. Inevitably, the resort to "divide and rule" policies [was rewarded by a sizable helping of mob rule.] promoted the growth of mob rule.

This strategem was not arrested by the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. Long after slavery ceased to be an issue, the weeds of terrorism [had sought and won a firmer root in the soil and had crowded the more delicate seeds of democracy off the land.] remained firmly rooted in the soil. Even today, "four score and seven years" ~~hence~~ afterwards,1/ the harvested crop - in terms of democratic rights of the negro population in the South - is rather modest in size [as compared ~~to~~ with the rest of the nation.] (Please see Tab E for source material.) (maybe I'm wrong, but I don't like this - as I think - over-metaphorical treatment. - C.G.R.)

F. Reconstruction and the Ku-Klux Klan, 1865-77

In the post-Civil War period the violence of the

1/ Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, of course, referred to the span between 1776 and 1863. In 1950, it will have been "four score and seven years" since he delivered these immortal remarks. The fact that the political, economic, and social status of the negro in the South has not progressed as much as could be desired since his emancipation in 1863 may be brought home with considerable impact.

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conquering North begot an equally forceful reaction by the defeated South. The power-drunken "radicals" led by Thaddeus Stevens contrived to impeach the President, advocate of more moderate policies, and almost convicted him. Andrew Johnson stood aside, powerless to prevent the ill-conceived "conquered province" theory from being imposed upon the South.

Under the guise of seeking to protect the new-found political rights of the Negroes, the Republicans attempted to negate for all time the opposition of the Democratic Party. They condoned the excesses of the unscrupulous "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags", and through the "Rule of the Major Generals" sought to disenfranchise the South.

The time was ripe for the Ku-Klux Klan. Though weary of bloodshed and armed terror, the South welcomed the efficient alternative of the Klan, a self-constituted guardian of the public morals which sought to return the Negro to his pre-Civil War subservient niche in society. Somewhere in the process, democratic procedures lost out. It has been observed that the bitter vetch of Reconstruction has not been completely eradicated in the South in the course of the last 80 years. This sorry fact may explain its yet active propensity to seek solutions to community problems in mob rule. (Please see Tab F for source material.)

The conditions here described were bad enough, Heaven knows, but doesn't this paragraph somewhat over-state the case? — E.G.R.

G. World War I -"A Holy Crusade for Liberty", 1914-18

The National frenzy which seized and held the United States spell-bound during the first World War is probably unequalled in scope and intensity in our history. No aspect of the farthest recesses of our National existence proved to be too insignificant for exploitation in a campaign of hate directed against anything Germanic. The excesses to which this delirium went are characterized by the official orders issued changing the names of the innocuous "dachshund" and "sauerkraut" to "liberty pup" and "liberty cabbage", respectively, in order to spare us the subversive influence of the Hun. The perpetrators of this campaign did not stop with such passive measures. Liberal use of mob violence and the hasty labeling of non-conformity as "disloyalty" characterized this period. Democracy was honored more in the breach than in the observance. (Please see Tab G for source material.)

H. Post-World War I Hysteria, 1919-28

Overheated passions of the war scarcely started to cool when "red baiting" and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer came into their own. A short, sharp depression followed the end of the war and with it, big industry strikes and general discontent. In this period of National unrest, fearful eyes turned toward Russia, which had just been swept by a cataclysmic revolution proclaiming a "dictatorship of the proletariat."

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It was natural that public attention should be directed toward the "Bolsheviki" as the instigators of most of the discontent.

Under the aegis of Attorney General Palmer, "The Fighting Quaker", a nation-wide campaign was inaugurated to rid the domestic scene of radical elements. The "Bolsheviki" became the whipping boys. A fevered public imagination, conditioned by war-time thinking to believe only the worst of anyone who failed to express his patriotism in vociferous terms, had little difficulty in stretching modest estimates of the number of "radicals" running loose in America into millions. In this atmosphere of tension, extremism flourished. Originally directed against economic groups, it was expanded to include religious and racial groups as well.

The obliging Ku-Klux Klan, previously a strictly Southern phenomenon, broke through the Mason-Dixon Line and began to acquire national power. A double-headed ogre now, it was re-born of expedience, and appealed to anti-negro and nativist prejudices alike. On one occasion, the Klan brazenly sponsored a parade of 40,000 hooded persons who strutted down Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital in full regalia. The Klan claimed much of the credit for the passage of restrictive immigration laws passed in 1924 and spearheaded the drive against the candidacy of Presidential-aspirant Al Smith in

1924 and 1928. In the latter election, a number of "solid South" states went Republican, a residue of a decade-long campaign of bigotry and hate.[1] (Please see Tab H for source material.)

I. The Great Depression, 1929-39

The disastrous economic decline following the stock market crash in 1929 brought into office President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Desperate measures to right the floundering Ship of State were needed and were forthcoming. The President resisted the tendency to "witch-hunt," although the climate was favorable for diverting attention from the gloomy realities of depression to one or more appropriate scape-goats. President Roosevelt, however, refused to be side-tracked from the main issue, the long, seemingly never-ending depression confronting his administration. Similarly, the majority of the American people were too preoccupied with efforts to subsist, and were not very susceptible to the usual diversionary tactics which previously characterized periods of national stress.

For the lack of official sponsorship, mob hysteria

1/ The causes for the Dixiecrat defection in the 1948 Presidential campaign were not unlike those which split the solid South in 1928.

played a singularly unimportant role during the 1930's. Perhaps for this reason was the cry "red" leveled at the President himself by a frustrated extremist minority. That this charge did not strike a responsive chord may be evidenced in the measure of popularity achieved by such writers as John Steinbeck. He ridiculed the "red baiting" theme through the words of one of his Okies who said:

> "A 'red' is anyone who wants 30¢
> an hour when they're paying 25¢." 1/

Apparently, the nation as a whole laughed and agreed.

J. World War II, 1941-45

During the greatest war in recorded history there was a remarkable absence of mob hysteria in terms of persecuting minorities accused of a lukewarm attitude toward the war. This may have been due to the sharp differentiation made between totalitarianism, an alien philosophy, and the German, Italian and Japanese people, its hapless victims. Except for the short panic which followed the attack on Pearl Harbor and the consequent mass relocation of the Japanese population from the West Coast, our record was, on the whole, very good. Somewhat repentant, the nation sought to make amends to Americans

---

1/ John Steinbeck, Grapes of Wrath.

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of Japanese extraction for its sins of persecution.1/

It should be noted that other isolated instances of persecution occurred; i.e., the hostility toward Kirsten Flagstad and Walter Gieseking, two great artists labeled "Nazi", although there is no evidence to show that they did other than passively accept the Hitler regime. However, a pattern of community-wide oppression is absent. This is in sharp contrast with the history of World War I, when most thinking people were swept into the whirlpool of bigotry which sucked them round and round into its vortex. On the basis of America's generally level-headed conduct in World War II, one might be tempted to draw certain overall conclusions about maturing humanity were it not for the disillusionment following on the heels of V-J Day which has not yet run its full course.

K. Post World War II, 1946-49

The immediate post-war period has seen a falling-out between two war-time allies, the United States and Soviet Russia, the two strongest nations in the world today. The Russians have never renounced their aim that Communism shall

---

1/ In retrospect, it might be noted that not one single instance of Japanese disloyalty to America's cause was discovered. On the other hand, many Nisei contributed significantly to the final victory. The war record of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and other units was remarkable in terms of the many decorations, including a Congressional Medal of Honor, awarded their men for combat bravery.

rule the world, and during the past (3) years have embarked on a program of aggressive expansion in Europe and Asia. The United States, the last major outpost of the principles of Democratic capitalism, has found itself at ideological sword-points with the Russians.

Concurrent with stern measures taken abroad, such as the North Atlantic Pact, ECA, aid to Greece and Turkey, etc., all of which are designed to contain the international spread of Communism, the United States is pursuing a program of exorcising communism on the domestic scene. This policy, a seemingly valid one, is supported by a preponderance of evidence pointing to American Communists' transcendant allegiance to a foreign power. However, certain groups have interpreted the current "get tough" Government policy toward Communists as a general signal for repression of all liberal ideas. As a consequence, non-conformity has been painted with the ubiquitous "red herring" brush.

Through the use of Congressional committee forums, various and sundry "headline hunting" tactics, planned leaks of information to selected newspapermen, etc., all persons known to espouse some degree of non-conformity are forthwith accused of "serving Moscow." The increasing incidence of disloyalty probes, loyalty oaths, Congressional investigations, "atomic

jitters" of one form or another, indicate that an organized campaign assuming the proportions of a "witch-hunt" may be in prospect.

The President, aware that the public temper is rising and may get out of hand, has cautioned Congress with respect to the constitutional rights of accused persons. He is concerned lest mob hysteria supersede due process of law in the apprehension and prosecution of real spies and traitors, a situation which past history has shown to be an ever-increasing danger in times of national crisis.

Toward this end, the President has taken a number of steps; he has increased Federal aid to local police forces seeking to eradicate out-croppings of hooded terror involving the Ku-Klux Klan which have appeared in a number of states; he has refused to make available some Executive Department records to certain legislative committees which in the past have largely conducted their investigations via newspaper headlines; he has provided additional checks and balances to existing loyalty board procedures to assure that the constitutional rights of accused persons ~~are~~ shall be fully respected; he has given widespread publicity, by virtue of the high office he holds, to certain official and non-official proceedings, suggesting ~~the~~ their "witch-hunt" nature, ~~of same~~; and, most

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important, he has given continued assurances to the American people that hysteria will not be permitted to influence the government's future course of action. He is concerned lest we create intellectual vacuums, the price of heresy-hunting, which fear and hatred will hasten to fill.

The final outcome of America's struggle, on the one hand, to steer clear of the Scylla of infiltration by agents of a foreign power, and, on the other, the Charybdis of complete loss of freedom at home through stern repressive measures, is not known. Much will depend upon the direction of future U. S. - Soviet diplomatic relations, and the speedy solution of their common problems.

The issues of the present misunderstanding need yet to be resolved. It is clear, though, that if, in the ideological struggle, we should depart from those traditions of freedom of thought, speech, inquiry, and communication which have carried us triumphantly through the vicissitudes of the past and brought us to our present proud position, we ~~will~~ shall have succumbed to the principles and methods of the police state. Significantly enough, we fought and vanquished totalitarianism in the recent war, and now it threatens to win the final victory.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS

A. Adherence to the Principles of the Constitution -- Not Lip Service Only -- Is Our Best Guarantee of Freedom

It is a sobering thought that we have acknowledged and repented the excesses resulting from past "witch-hunting." For example, the ex-communication of the Salem Witch-Hunt victims was rescinded. The Alien and Sedition Acts died unmourned and the victims were compensated. We are generally ashamed of our fervid folly in World War I, and it might be said that George Creel 1/ and A. Mitchell Palmer achieved something less than undying fame. Perhaps our ability to return to an emotional even keel has assisted in the preservation of our liberties.

I would leave out these personal references, C.J.R

We do not, however, trust to sheer luck. The Constitution has been our guiding star. It has been noted that we learned something after each period of mob hysteria. The Constitution has been enlarged by written amendment or through expanded interpretation by the Supreme Court. Perhaps the greatest Democrat of them all, Thomas Jefferson, commented on this very subject:

1/ Mr. Creel served as Chairman, Committee of Public Information, World War I.

"....though written constitutions may be violated in moments of passion or delusion, yet they furnish a text to which those who are watchful may again rally and recall the people. They fix too for the people principles for their political creed." 1/

B. The Role of Communications in Mob Hysteria

The history of mob rule points up the potential double-edged sword of communications. In one respect, bad communications tend to make people suspicious of the motives of others, provincial in their outlook, and limited in their judgment. Historians consider the lack of communications to be a major contributor to the ghastly Salem witchcraft incident. A broader view might have fostered the skepticism necessary to stave off the "delusion" before it got out of hand.

On the other hand, the rapid, sharply accurate communications of the twentieth century presents its problems as well. Radio, motion pictures, television, pictorial magazines, three or four daily editions of a single newspaper, and other modern media of news dissemination make it possible to transmit details of an event almost simultaneously with its unfolding. In the hands of unscrupulous or unthinking persons, too rapid communications may lead to unforeseen repercussions. The rather recent shameful "Bogota Incident" or even the more famous "Invasion from Mars" episode in 1938 are cases in point. The latter,

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1/ Letter to Joseph Priestley, dated June 19, 1802

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stemming from a radio drama conjured out of the fertile imagination of a well-known writer, literally terrorized large numbers of people. It has been clearly shown that control of our communication systems is a weighty responsibility and implies the need for some measure of evaluation of what is fed into them.

This is not to suggest that strong news be watered down prior to its release for fear of unduly exciting the people. Freedom of speech and press is one of the foundation-stones of our Democracy. Only by giving every statement of alleged fact a thorough airing can we ever hope to make inroads upon the evils of prejudice and bigotry, the twin harbingers of mob rule and "witch-hunts." Being exposed daily to the onslaughts of publicity directed at all their senses, the American people, as a whole, have long since learned to recognize honest reporting of news. "Catch-headline" reporting and melodramatic radio comment commentating, concerned entirely with increased circulation figures and Hooper-ratings, respectively, are frequently recognized and properly labeled. It is not often that the American people are swept off their feet.

In cases where the line of demarkation between "straight-from-the-shoulder" reporting and incitement to riot is not clearly defined, or is subject to varying interpretation by

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each communicatee, the tempered reaction of an enlightened public has been found to render a far better therapeutic result than blanket restrictions imposed by the government.

A cornerstone of man's yearning for a greater measure of personal freedom is his historic struggle for freedom of the press. One of the first points of this struggle was reached by the immortal English poet John Milton. He addressed a brilliant and compelling plea to Parliament in favor of the liberty of unlicensed printing, and concluded as follows: "Above all liberties, give me the liberty to know, to utter, to argue freely according to conscience." Let Truth and Falsehood grapple without prohibition of restraint, he urged, for "who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing."1/

Were Milton alive today, he would probably agree that the social philosophy which George Creel2/ espoused represented a serious threat to our democratic processes. Undoubtedly, the national state of mind engendered during World War I constituted a greater potential menace than the Orson Welles incident, shrugged off in an atmosphere of freedom of expression. This

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1/ John Milton, Areopagitica, written in 1644.
2/ Mr. Creel served as Chairman, Committee of Public Information, World War I.

x I think this picks on Creel too much. -C.G.R

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is part of the price which democracy must pay for its existence.

C. Conformity is Not Americanism

The so-called "American Way of Life" does not consist of unanimous tribal self-adoration. The conception, history, and tradition of our country show that its keynote has been its hospitality to criticism, protest, unpopular opinion, and independent thought. To persecute people into conformity by a variety of subtle methods, ranging between slander in the press and secretive black-balling as "poor security risks," is little better than doing it by purges and pogroms. The dreadful unanimity of tribal self-sanctification was characteristic of the Nazi state. It is sedulously fostered in Soviet Russia.

The United States is ~~presently~~ in the midst of a "cold war." The ideological gap between East and West grows wider. There is no question among Americans of almost any political stripe that we must protect ourselves against external enemies, their representatives in this country, and any citizens who may be conspiring to overthrow or betray the government.

It must be remembered, however, that further repressive legislation substantially reducing the liberties of our citizens is not the solution to this problem. The statute books

+ Our "loyalty program" ~~may~~ is not necessary, but do we want to condemn it here by implication? This can be read as a sweeping condemnation. EGR

are already filled with laws directed to these ends. It has never been shown that there are so many spies or traitors in this country, or that the external danger is so great and imminent, that we have to divert the entire attention of our people into one great preoccupation with spies, disloyalty in high places and similar alarms.

During the recent investigation of government employees, an infinitesimal fraction of 1% of the 2.5 million persons checked were charged with either disloyalty or accused of subversive activities. All the evidence adduced so far concerning unfrocked traitors, spies, and subversives in positions of responsibility points to the fact that no substantial harm has yet come to the nation. Our national policy, therefore, should be based on the overall conclusions which may be derived from this fact.

According to one view, the American people, as a whole, are more mature in their approach to the problem of alleged disloyalty than some of their national leaders. The people seem to have accepted the multiplicity of charges directed against persons in positions of great responsibility with rather surprising calm.

This calmness should be greatly admired, yet another view expresses outright concern that it strongly resembles

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complacency rather than good, sound judgment. The direct assaults upon the periphery of our personal freedoms are a cause for outright alarm lest some vital viscera of our democratic life be penetrated.

To amplify this view somewhat, it is said that we ought to be afraid of some things. We ought to be afraid of being stupid and unjust. There are those who say that we must be afraid of Communism, yet are we not in danger of adopting at least some of the tyrannical ideas prevalent in Russia, and doing so in the name of Americanism?

The worst Russian ideas are the police state, the abolition of freedom of speech, thought and association, and the notion that the individual exists for the state. These ideas are anathema to our concept of society and form the basis of cleavage between Russia and the United States.

One of the landmarks in the struggle to maintain our freedoms is the historic U. S. Supreme Court decision in the so-called "Barnette Case," which upheld the individual's right to dissent despite the fact that the United States was then at war. Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, stating the majority opinion, ruled:

> "Those who begin the coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard....But freedom

to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. They would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein." 1/

D. Free American Education Is A Bulwark against Bigotry and "Witch-Hunts."

It is not surprising that the basic concept of American education - independent thought - has been closely associated with Americanism. Thomas Jefferson once expressed himself succinctly on this very subject:

"Bigotry is the disease of ignorance, of morbid minds; enthusiasm, of the free and buoyant; education and free discussion are the antidotes of both." 2/

American education has not tried to produce indoctrinated automatons, but individuals who can think, and who will think always for themselves. It is the basic principle of American government ~~is one~~ that if the citizens learn to think, and if they will think for themselves, the Republic is secure.

1/ Supreme Court Decision, "West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette, June 14, 1943.
2/ Letter to John Adams, dated 1816

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The basic principle of dictatorship assumes that people cannot think or cannot be trusted to think for themselves.

To teach people to think for themselves is ~~easier~~ more easily said than done. For one thing, we need competent teachers who, in turn, can think for themselves. The teaching profession will not attract the type of mind that can help us achieve this goal as long as the current loyalty legislation being directed by the several states against it is continued.

The requirement of the legislation 1/ - a simple loyalty oath - is in itself harmless. The obvious implication, however, that all teachers are disloyal until proved otherwise and the hidden implication that independent thought is not desirable on the part of a teacher are extremely dangerous.

Not only that, but the loyalty oath serves no useful purpose. Teachers bent on disloyalty will not hesitate at a little perjury to accomplish their goal. 2/

Prof. Henry S. Commager has commented on the current drive to compel teachers to toe the mark of conformity - a sort of

1/ Two recent examples include "The Ober Law" in Maryland and "The Feinberg Law" in New York. In test suits brought against them, both have been declared unconstitutional, although final appeals are presently pending. Incidentally, Maryland has sought to circumvent an adverse ruling on its law by amending it via "emergency legislation" which is still in force at this writing.

2/ Communists uncovered among the teaching groups is a subject of current debate, inasmuch as the Communist Party retains its legal status. The issues on either side are many, yet it should be pointed out that an instructor discharged for disloyalty, has to all intents and purposes, been denied the right to earn his livelihood, a technical violation of his constitutional rights.

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1/ ~~The "Feinberg Law" in N.Y. is one example. The "Ober Law", in Maryland, another sedition law requiring teacher loyalty oaths, was declared unconstitutional by Circuit Court Judge Joseph Sherbow on August 15, 1949.~~

2/ This stigma of "disloyalty" in the cases of a number of Communists uncovered among the teaching groups is a subject of current debate, inasmuch as the Communist Party retains its legal status. The issues on either side are many, yet it should be pointed out that an instructor discharged for disloyalty, has to all intents and purposes, been denied the right to earn his livelihood, a technical violation of his constitutional rights.

cutting the academic man to fit the suit, as it were. He says:

> "It [conformity] creates an atmosphere in which teachers find safety not in orthodox ideas - for they will never know surely just which ideas are orthodox - but in no ideas. In the end we will get a generation of children taught by teachers who are afraid of ideas." 1/

Another has pointed out that teachers are finding out that it is "safe" not to express themselves for or against any public question until they have looked into the background of anybody who may be taking the same position on the same question. 2/

According to the "guilt by association" principle which characterizes much of the current "tumult and shouting" about spies and disloyalty, a teacher who associates himself in one viewpoint only with someone else who, in turn, has taken an unorthodox view on another question, may be asked to explain himself to higher authority. 3/

Democracy has been defined as "the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the

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1/ H. S. Commager, article "New York Times Magazine" June 26, 1949.
2/ Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, 237th Convocation, Chicago U., June, 1949.
3/ The criticism of a number of outstanding academicians for having recently attended the sessions of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City is typical. They were labeled "Communists" because of their association on this question with the Wallace Progressive Party, other non-conformists. A number of professors have since been called upon by legislative committees to explain their actions.

time." 1/ Essentially this is a simplified but accurate statement pointing to the very basis of our system - majority rule.

Yet, how can we possibly expect most of the people to be right most of the time if they are taught by men and women who are constrained from taking any point of view on a subject which may be momentarily unpopular for fear of dire punishment?

The current tendency to drive teachers into an intellectual straitjacket is just half the problem. The other half concerns the ruthless weeding out of all "seditious" matter from the textbooks and school curricula by self-constituted guardians of our young people's minds.

This problem is especially acute in the colleges whose function it is to encourage independent thought and original investigation. Dean Wilbur J. Bender, of Harvard University, has stated the problem facing us in brilliant fashion:

> "The world is full of dangerous ideas, and we are both naive and stupid if we believe that the way to prepare intelligent young men to face the world is to try to protect them from such ideas while they are in college. Four years in an insulated nursery will produce gullible innocents, not tough-minded realists who know what they believe because they have faced the enemies of their beliefs." 2/

1/ E. B. White, "The Wild Flag", quoted in a letter by Mr. Grenville Clark, Harvard University Bulletin, June 25, 1949

2/ Quoted by H. S. Commager, New York Times Magazine, June 26, 1949, p. 45

The right of teachers and students to speak their minds and to espouse unpopular causes should not be regarded as something separate and apart from the maintenance of our civil rights in general. What has been called "academic freedom" is part and parcel of American freedom. It is one of the values that make life in our country most worthwhile.

E. Ideas Alone Will Not Stop Communism

We must resolutely reject the curious modern notion on the part of some people that prosecution of Communists under any circumstances is a violation of civil liberties and an incitement to appeal to unleashing mass hysteria. However, concern over Communism should not be used as a pretext for purging liberals.

Communists are -- whatever their constitution or platform or official declarations may allege -- engaged in an attack upon American institutions. If they deny this charge, they are self-confessed frauds. If they are good Communists, they must logically desire the overthrow of the American Government by any means; if they do not desire the overthrow of the American Government, they are not good Communists. They cannot have it both ways.

The question arises as to how we may reach and render harmless all Communists or other groups which advocate the violent overthrow of this Government. In so doing we should avoid threatening other minorities or violating those liberties whose

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preservation is one of the major purposes of our Constitution. The answer is that we should prosecute men for the crimes they commit and not for the ideas they hold.

It might be added that the Federal and State statute books appear to have the greatest sufficiency of laws to deal with acts of violence, sabotage or treason. However, these laws must be enforced according to due process of law rather than by other means which are inimical to the American tradition.

It is well to keep in mind that martyred Communists tend to confuse the issues of the ideological war of Democracy vs Communism.

The Cominform is the ideological front of Communism. It has an assigned mission to test Communism against opposing ideologies at the bar of world opinion. By ignoring its presence we may be led into an over-simplification in any comparison between the current situation and that which, in 1798, led to the Alien and Sedition legislation. In that day, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", products of the French Revolution, came to us unarmed, in the sense that we had a choice of accepting or rejecting them. The nations which have been selected for "enlightenment" by the Communists in the recent past have not been given such a choice. The Cominform has not overlooked the convincing powers of the Soviet armed might to buttress its ideological campaign

against recalcitrant nations.

For that matter, the contention that the current hysteria smacks of the A. Mitchell Palmer "witch-hunt" of post-World War I infamy in all respects requires closer examination. The two situations are very similar in many respects, as has been shown elsewhere, but are not completely analagous. Then, Russia was a torn and struggling nation with its back to the wall. Today, Soviet totalitarianism is a tremendous, well-organized thing. We are facing not just a figment of reactionary imagination, but a proved problem which threatens to overwhelm by military means that which it cannot seduce by the power of its ideas.

A confusing mixture of ideas is ~~presently~~ stirring in the overheated crucible of world opinion. If we are simple enough to believe that out of this emulsion will be automatically crystallized a more palatable way of life, more than just our fingers may get burned.

F. The American Way of Life is on Trial

In general, the traditional key-note associated with Americanism has been freedom from oppression. In particular, it has been the freedom of thought, speech, and assembly. America has always proclaimed and protected the individual's right to differ without losing his dignity. In contrast, the totalitarian state has placed a premium upon the welfare? power?

of the state and the subservience of the individual.

In America it has always been emphasized that each man think for himself. The sum of our collective thoughts, subtracting the compromises and concessions made to accommodate the differences of opinion held by our neighbor, is equal to the American way of life. This way of life has improved and has grown strong on criticism.

Some of us have strange concepts of Americanism which have been used to combat the idea of Communism. Two arguments frequently used are:

1. Communism is essentially a foreign idea and inferior to American home-grown ideas. "What was good enough for my forefathers, is good enough for me."

2. America has more than reasonably prospered in the past. Why accept any change?

The implication of both these ideas suggests that we "sit tight" against Communism, or as this viewpoint has been capsuled by a contemporary humorist:

"Come weal, come woe,
My status is Quo." 1/

The first argument fails on the grounds that, in the long run, people do not select or reject ideas of ways

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1/ Samuel Hoffenstein, Year In, You're Out, p. 21

of life on the basis of their national origin. If they did, the American Revolution, based in part on philosophies borrowed from France and England, would have failed. It may be properly surmised that the Revolution might never even have got under way. Technically, the only "native" American ideas extant are those of Indian origin, or as Mark Twain once wrote:

> "There is only one thing that can be called by the wide name 'American'. That is the national devotion to ice water. . ." 1/

The second argument implies that our forefathers deviated only slightly, if at all, from rigid conservatism. Examination of the facts discloses that this is anything but the truth. The American tradition has been one of protest and revolt. The whole pattern of colonization was to stock the American colonies with many radicals and dissenters and leave behind in England most of the conservatives and conformists. Sharp contrasts in temperament and outlook between the colonies and the mother country resulted.

This process has repeated itself with endless variation in the later history of our country. The incoming tides of foreign immigration have deposited upon our shores many of the restless and rebellious spirits of Old World civilizations. Together with many native adventurous spirits, and spurred by

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1/ Mark Twain, Literary Essays, "What Paul Bourget Thinks of Us."

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the characteristic cry, "Westward Ho", they moved forward into new lands of opportunity. Thus, the non-conformist spirit has constantly been fed and refreshed by contributions from abroad and from the discontented elements in the settled areas of America itself.

The favorable conditions under which discontent was tolerated make it appear that a radical form of government might have been expected to attain its most extreme expression in America. Again, nothing could be further from the truth.

On the whole, America has tolerated advocacy of sharp reforms (i.e. non-conformity) of every sort, but has deferred official action until the public has become adjusted to them, and their philosophies have become imbedded in the consciousness of the people. Examples of this cultural lag mark our whole historical pattern and are characteristic of our Democracy. 1/

1/ Examples:

a. William Jennings Bryan was regarded almost as an anti-Christ in 1892. Mark Hanna, right-hand man of Presidential Candidate McKinley, persuaded employers to place notices in pay envelopes that workers needn't return after election if Bryan won. The latter's "revolutionary" doctrines included women's suffrage, the Australian (secret) ballot, etc., almost all of which have since been legislated into being.

b. The candidacy of Governor Al Smith in 1928 was completely anathema to many people. Bigotry of the worst sort, including the old canard of the 1880's, "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" was invoked and irrevocably damaged his cause. And what did he advocate? Labor reform, old age legislation, child-labor laws, repeal of prohibition, etc. Today, almost every plank in his platform has been accepted in statute form. Few die-hard politicians would dare to take issue with them on a public forum.

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New ideas are like a non-filterable virus. They divide and conquer. They may be driven underground, but sooner or later they will emerge no less potent. For that reason, the way to fight ideas is to show that you have better ones. As Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes pointed out in one of his famous dissents, ideas should be left wholly free to compete with one another in the market place of men's minds. 1/ This is the main assurance that truth will prevail, the only ultimate guarantee of Democratic Government.

If historical precedent, buttressed by countless examples, is any criterion, we are doomed to a losing battle in our present struggle against Communism if we accept the uncompromising counsel of the "status quo."

It is important that we tolerate non-conformism so that we may have National goals at which to aim. Failing that, idealism, which is so closely identified with the American way of life, will become stultified.

In fact, the very fabric of our Constitution, as conceived by the Founding Fathers, accepted the possibility that the status quo might come under the criticism of those who later thought it could be improved. This option -- the right to amend the Constitution -- has been exercised 21 times in some 160 years.

1/ Abrams et al v U. S. Supreme Court, October term, 1919 (U. S. Reports 250)

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This is the American idea. It specifies that the State exists for its citizens, and that change is inevitable and must occur to meet their needs. This right to amend the Constitution by peaceful means has acted as a "safety valve". For example, some of the changes that Marx and Engels demanded have taken place in this country without Communism, dictatorship, or revolution, although the authors of the "Communist Manifesto" stated that this was impossible. 1/

Let those who deplore, in the name of patriotism, the exercise of the basic rights of their fellow men, and who hide behind the smoke-screen raised by the evil genii of bigotry and mob rule, be exposed and properly identified. It recalls to mind George Washington's farewell warning to his fellow countrymen:

> "to guard against the postures of pretended patriotism." 2/

In Christ's "Sermon on the Mount", it is said:

> "Not everyone who saith Lord, Lord, unto me shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." 3/

1/ Free public education is one idea advocated by Marx and Engels; strong worker representation in the councils of management and Government to a degree Marx and Engels never dreamed could be accomplished by peaceful means, is another.
2/ George Washington's farewell address, September 19, 1796.
3/ Matthew VII. 21

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The Bill of Rights established a tradition of non-conformity. Subsequent generations of Americans have cherished and nurtured this tradition. It is rather hypocritical -- characteristic of the upholders of the status quo -- to celebrate the rebels of the past, including Washington, Jefferson and Paine, and silence the rebels of the present.

It would be appropriate at this point to cite the immortal remarks of Thomas Jefferson on the subject of tolerance. They are worth constant repetition:

> "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." 1/

Jefferson did not advocate violent revolution. He respected the value, power and results of independent thought. He had complete confidence in our people, our institutions and our way of life.

G. Summation

Why should we be concerned today with the phenomena of mass hysteria and "witch-hunting" in America? In answering this question, we assume that we can learn from our mistakes of the past, that is, if we accept the basic thesis that the larger patterns of history repeat themselves.

1/ Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Speech, March 4, 1801

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There seems to be almost unanimous agreement that the fears concerning the possible subversion of our way of life in 1798-1801 and in 1919-20 -- to take the two most oustanding examples -- were much exaggerated. Probably this is just as true of the fears expressed today.

Every great war, especially a war accompanied by violent social upheavals, is followed by a difficult settling-down period. The anxieties and strains of war do not die out the moment hostilities stop. People go on being worried because they have been worried so long, and all sorts of economic and social adjustments caused by the dislocations of war bring new reasons for anxiety. In this state of mind they become malleable masses in the hands of designing groups intent on using this anxiety for their own selfish purposes.

It took more than 10 years for the United States to [get back to normalcy] attain normal conditions * after the Civil War. We experienced the same kind of reaction in more virulent form after the first World War, during the so-called "Red Menace."

In such times of disturbance and anxiety, one of the end products is a demand for sedition laws just as there is a demand today. 1/

1/ The Mundt Bill is one example.

We never go back - there is no normalcy - remember Mr Harding & Mr Coolidge.

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In the past such fears have proved unwarranted, and the country has emerged from these various trials and tribulations with its traditional freedoms intact.

Our current dealings with foreigners in the United Nations make it vital that we adhere to the basic freedoms as expressed in our Bill of Rights. When we do so, we find that our case is strengthened among peoples where censorship and every variety of gross suppression have prevailed.

On the other hand, our cause at home and abroad is much harmed whenever we [conspicuously] depart from our professed basic principles. It lays us open to damaging charges of hypocrisy and pretense which are difficult to refute.

good. The way for us to spread democracy is to live up to it ourselves. We must choose, and perhaps choose very soon, between freedom and fear. We cannot have both. If our citizens persist much longer in being afraid, the real rulers of this country will be fanatics fired with a zeal to save grown men from objectionable ideas by putting them under the care of official nursemaids. Freedom does not mean safety in the present, but opportunity in the future. (Something)

It has not been in the American tradition to walk with fear. Such an outlook breeds an instictive hostility to

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growth simply because growth means change. Without change to meet the developing requirements of the people, Democracy, which has achieved its greatest measure of success in America, will wither on the vine and die.

Walt Whitman, noble apostle of Democracy, once said:

> "It is provided in the very essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come forth something to make a greater struggle necessary."

Anyone who has watched a tree grow through a sheer mass of unbroken rock realizes that, like social change, the tree has followed the law of life. The future belongs not to rigid absolutes, whether they are primal rocks or unyielding social arrangements, but to the thing that can grow whether it is a tree or a way of life.

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PART IV

APPENDIX

A. Source Material -- Witchcraft in Salem, 1692

1. General

The famous Salem witchcraft "delusion" is said to be a startling demonstration of the manner in which mob hysteria can deprive the individual of common justice. While it was a local affair it was the forerunner of other outbreaks of mass hysteria, although none could match it in primitive fury and violence.

At the height of the frenzy, all the securities of society were dissolved. The law of the jungle prevailed. Every person's life was at the mercy of almost any other person. Fear sat on every countenance. Terror and distress gripped all hearts. Silence pervaded the streets as many people left the area and others remained out of sight. All business remained at a standstill.

Let us examine in more detail Salem's adventure in demonology in 1692.

2. Background

By the end of the 17th Century, the civilization which the Puritans had brought to New England from the Old World

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was making slow encroachment upon the vast wilderness stretching out from their small isolated settlements.

The wilderness was largely possessed by wild animals and Indians. The settlers, fearful of the Indians' strange customs and war-like propensities, developed a strongly rooted sentiment of hostility and horror for them. In 1691, the danger of Indian attacks in Massachusetts was "an event looked for every hour with the greatest alarm and apprehension. Extraordinary precautions were taken in Essex County to forewarn the community." 1/

Another long-range factor was the belief of the people in witches, demons, and other variations of Satan's evil devices. This belief was not dispelled by the clergy. In fact, many churchmen rather welcomed this state of mind. They could invoke the threat of Satanic punishment against wavering members of the congregation. "Whilst the tragedy [of Salem] was acting, there were but few people who doubted the hand of the devil, and fewer that cared to own their doubts." 2/

Several other lesser factors contributed to the state of mind, making it progressively easier to induce a state of mass hysteria:

1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 11
2/ Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, p. 15

a. Communication with Boston was very bad. To travel there from Salem, a distance of about 15 miles, was "the fatiguing, adventurous and doubtful work of an entire day." 1/

b. The colony had recently lost its old original charter. A new and less satisfactory one had replaced it when William and Mary acceded to the throne of England a few years previous.

c. Lawlessness along the coast in the form of hostile privateers was increasing. The new governor of Massachusetts, Sir William Phips, was universally regarded as incompetent, and did little to suppress privateering.

d. Taxation in 1691 was unusually burdensome. There were few large estates or wealthy people to carry this load. It fell with crushing weight upon the small settlers.

3. Immediate Causes

It seems that the Reverend Samuel Parris, the minister of Salem Village, was engaged in a heated doctrinal controversy with many of his congregation. While this was going on, one of

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1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 12

his daughters, his niece, and a young playmate, one Ann Putnam, all ranging between 9 and 12 years of age, began to ~~act in a strange manner~~. They would creep into holes, under benches, ~~make~~ assume odd postures and make strange outcries ~~and generally attracted~~ a good deal of attention.

The physician, Dr. Griggs, examined ~~the young ladies~~ them and having no way to account for their disorders, pronounced them "bewitched." 1/

Before long, several other young ~~ladies~~ women in the neighborhood began to exhibit similar tendencies, whereupon, the Reverend Mr. Parris invited all to his house for a day of prayer, "for devout supplications to the throne of Mercy, for rescue from the power of the great enemy of souls." 2/

During the religious services one of the children acted as though she were seized by violent convulsive fits. The news spread throughout the community and "it was universally believed that the evil one had commenced his operations . . on a broader scale than in any previous period."

4. The Delusion Develops

Thereupon ensued ~~the beginning of one of the most~~ a remarkable and ghastly events ~~in recorded history~~.

1/ Governor Thomas Hutchinson, The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, p. 19
2/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 21

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The young "sufferers" were importuned to ~~name whoever~~ name who had afflicted them. They delayed sufficiently for dramatic effect, meanwhile heightening the anxieties of the mob. Finally, they named old Tituba, a withered Indian servant in the Reverend Mr. Parris' household.

After severe beatings, Tituba not only confessed to witchery, but implicated two other elderly women in town. Meanwhile, the inflamed imaginations of people, a love for notoriety, a desire for sympathy, or just malicious envy, brought new accessions to the ranks of the bewitched. In like proportions, the number of accused swelled.

Court was set up at the corner of North and Essex Streets, Salem, to hear charges, including those brought by "John the Indian", husband of Tituba, who properly reasoned that "he should stand a better chance among the afflicted than the accused." 1/

By this time, excitement had mounted to a feverish pitch. A few disbelievers ~~voiced incredulity, but~~ were lost in the noisy confusion. Many people were ready to believe:

> "that there was a dark and diabolical confederacy in the land between Satan and some of the inhabitants, that threatened

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1/ Governor Thomas Hutchinson, The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, p. 23

to overthrow and extirpate religion and morality, and to establish the kingdom of the evil one. . ." 1/

The mania spread among neighboring towns like Ipswich and Boston, ~~whose~~ with their jails, like Salem's, bulged with confessed witches. People made voluntary confessions of guilt in order to save their lives. Accused persons who denied the allegations usually ended up with more severe sentences.

5. The Frenzied Climax

The whole structure of society threatened to collapse. Some of the reported case studies aptly illustrate the ever-widening chaos:

a. The case of Philip English, wealthy landowner:

It seems that Mrs. English, "a lady of accomplished education and superior endowments", was arrested on charges of witchery made by more envious and less pecunious townspeople. She was pulled out of bed in the dead of night and thrown into prison. "So utterly hopeless at that time was the condition of anyone who might happen to fall under the accusation of witchcraft", that she was considered as good as hanged. 2/

1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 26
2/ Ibid., pp. 27-9

Her husband escaped, ~~only~~ with the thought that he could do more for his wife on the outside. His efforts were futile, and he gave himself up, too, in the hope of effecting his wife's escape ~~from a nearby vantage point.~~ He succeeded, and by some unstated means the couple managed to escape to New York before final sentence could be carried out.

Later, when the delirium had subsided, the English couple returned to Salem amid great public rejoicing. The town did everything possible to make restitution, and the Englishes forgave and forgot. 1/

Other people weren't quite so lucky. In June and July, 1692, 19 people were put to death and 8 more were condemned. One unfortunate man refused to stand trial ~~for~~ on the ridiculous charges, so he "was pressed to death agreeably to the provisions of the English law." 2/

b. The Bradstreet Case

During the height of the fury, the wife of an unnamed respectable Andover man died of a fever. All attempts to cure her had been unavailing, and it naturally occurred to the grief-stricken man that his wife had been bewitched. He hastened to Salem and consulted

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1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft
2/ Ibid, p. 31

several "afflicted persons" for the names of some "witches."

He returned with them to Andover and accusations were filed against many citizens. Mr. Bradstreet, the magistrate, jailed 40 people on these accusations, concluded that he had done enough and declined to arrest any more. Following this, he himself was accused of being a witch. In the dead of night he and his wife left town and just managed to evade their pursuers. 1/

c. The Case of Rebecca Nurse

This woman was accused by Mrs. Putnam, mother of Ann, who complained of Nurse as tormenting her, and "made the most terrible shrieking to the amazement of the neighborhood." It seems there was a petty feud between them.

Mrs. Nurse was acquitted, but her accuser made another great clamor in court. The frightened Judge expressed dissatisfaction with the previous verdict, so the jury went out and returned with a guilty one. Mrs. Nurse was pardoned by Governor Phips, who was taking his own life in his hands by ~~doing so~~ his action. The mob roared and stormed. The now timid governor withdrew his pardon and sent Mrs. Nurse to the gallows. It was small consolation to her son, Samuel Nurse, that the community

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1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, pp. 53-5

withdrew its charges in 1712, some 20 years later, and cleared the name of Rebecca Nurse. 1/

The unquestioning vigor with which the authorities prosecuted every case of accused witchery made the accusers bolder and more confident. They began to feel that the entire destiny of Salem was in their hands. They accused the Reverend Mr. Willard, one of the most respected clergymen of the time, and Dr. Increase Mather, recent Ambassador to England and then President of Harvard College. Unverified reports indicate that even the wife of the Governor, Sir William Phips, and one of the judges of the court were accused.

6. The Bubble Bursts

The accusers finally overstepped themselves when they accused Mrs. Hale, wife of the minister of the first church in Beverly. Her kindness and other virtues had achieved a colony-wide reputation and had endeared her to the community.

Ironically, Mr. Hale had been quite active in prosecuting all the accused witches. When his own wife was charged, Mr. Hale was shocked and sobered up immediately. He now fought to resist this community madness which had burst upon his own house.

Almost as suddenly, many other people became aware of the ludicrous proceedings. It dawned on them that a

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1/ Winfield S. Nevins, Witchcraft in Salem Village, pp. 110-130

gigantic hoax had been perpetrated. From that moment on, the power of the accusers was destroyed and the awful delusion ceased.

7. Recessional

Mr. Upham has provided us with an apt description of the closing chapter of the Salem delusion. He says:

> ". . .the curtain fell, and a close was put to one of the most tremendous tragedies in the history of real life. The wildest storm perhaps, that ever raged in the moral world, instantly became a calm; the tide that had threatened to overwhelm everything in its fury, sunk back in a moment to its peaceful bed. There are few, if any other, instances in history, of a revolution of opinion and feeling, so sudden, so rapid, and so complete." 1/

Some rather interesting facts about the "delusion" came to light during the period of reflection and review which followed it:

a. Some of the accusers who swore that the "witches" afflicted them with pain, robbed them of their goods, and distressed them in many ways were persons formerly of respectable and irreproachable character. It does not seem possible, but the fact remains that "nine out of ten of the men, women and children who testified upon their oaths, intentionally and wilfully falsified," yet their testimony was delivered with great apparent sincerity. 2/

1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 33
2/ Winfield S. Nevins, Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692, p. 235

b. One species of evidence -- the confessions -- rendered all the rest unnecessary, and overwhelmed the minds of the court, the jury, the public and perhaps, in many instances, the unhappy prisoners themselves, ~~with conviction~~. Fifty-five persons, many of high character, acknowledged the "truth" of the witchery charges. A number of them even described how they signed Satan's "red book." Others, including a number of fanatically religious women, attended his "impious sacraments", and had ridden on sticks from Andover to Salem to attend "a diabolical meeting convened there." 1/

c. The Reverend Mr. Parris was exposed to the community for his part in stirring up the "delusion". Apparently, he was forced to leave town, although one account denies any suggestion that his departure five years later was anything but a voluntary one. 2/

d. Cotton Mather, the great champion of the church, came under the cloud of suspicion for having contributed to the "delusion." Only four years previously, in 1688, he had stirred up Bostonians about witches and Satan in and effort to enhance his reputation as one who could

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1/ Charles Upham, Lectures of Witchcraft, p. 40
2/ S. F. Fowler, An Account of the Life and Character of Reverend Samuel Parris, p. 19

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withstand evil spirits and "hold Satan himself in chains by his prayers and piety." 1/

8. Conclusions

The Salem delusion was an unhappy experience. It probably served, however, to provide a spiritual and moral cleanser for the colonists. They quickly recovered from their spasm and were duly repentant, and perhaps a little sheepish like the village joker who shed a tear at the human shambles caused when he playfully yelled "fire" in the crowded movie house.

One observer has extracted more good out of this unfortunate situation. Taking cognizance of the fact that, in 1692, everybody believed in witchcraft, and that men like Governors Endicott, Winthrop, and even the liberal-minded Bradstreet had at one time or another passed sentence upon persons accused of witchery, he said the bursting bubble at Salem marked the "deathblow" of witchcraft in Western civilization. 2/

Perhaps we can take comfort from this, perhaps not. Unquestionably Salem offers enduring proof of human fallibility. The delusion had swept over the city like a cyclone,

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1/ Charles Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft, p. 112
2/ Winfield S. Nevins, Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692, p. 236

but people did not fully appreciate its impact until it affected them personally. Mr. Hale, for example, typified the average reaction. He went along with the mob until he suddenly discovered that his wife was to be the next target. Fortunately for him the mass delusion abated before he could be punished for his personal folly. Others were not quite as fortunate.

Salem should be well remembered by posterity:

a. For the reason that we place a beacon on some shoal or reef where a ship has been wrecked, to warn others of the danger.

b. For the reason that independent thinking, one of the surest safeguards against the state of mind which could lead to a repetition of the disaster, was not encouraged in Salem.

PART IV

APPENDIX

B. Source Material -- Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798-1800

1. Background

The Alien and Sedition Acts, enacted in the summer of 1798, profoundly affected the course of American political and social history. They projected the issue of civil rights into the realm of public controversy in the very infancy of the American Republic and gave real substance to the historic cry, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

When newspaper editors suddenly found themselves in jail or broken by heavy fines, and when bystanders at political meetings who made contemptuous remarks about the Adams Administration were hurried off to court, lectured by irate Federalist judges, and then convicted of sedition, the gathering storm of public protest swept the Federalists, the perpetrators of this pernicious legislation, out of office.

Because the Federalist Party never recovered from that disaster, it is worth ~~examining~~ while to examine in some detail the genesis and manner of enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts. 1/

1/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization I, p. 377

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President John Adams' Administration was neither very effective nor popular. The Jay Treaty, signed with England in 1794, had evoked little or no enthusiasm in America. The election irregularities of 1796 left a bad taste in everyone's mouth. The Federalist political high officers were pessimistic about the coming by-elections of 1798 when they were suddenly presented with what they interpreted to be a ready-made issue to swing electoral sentiment back into their column. 1/

Constant diplomatic friction with Napoleon had led us to the brink of war with France that summer. Its outbreak was expected daily. Many Republicans had made the tactical mistake of identifying themselves too closely with the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror which followed that social upheaval. Sub rosa, the Federalists wished to disenfranchise many French-born Americans who would be most likely to vote against them. The Federalists leaped in to attack and, while their opponents were divided on the subject of relations with France, succeeded in enacting the Alien and Sedition Acts. 2/

2. Brief of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

1/ F. M. Anderson, "The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts" American Historical Association Annual Report, 1912, p. 115

2/ Ibid, pp. 115-6

The "Alien" Acts were three in number.

a. The Naturalization Act, approved by the President on June 18, 1798, provided a five-year waiting period before an alien could declare his legal intention of becoming a citizen. It further extended the overall period of waiting for citizenship papers to 14 years. The Act stipulated that "no alien, who shall be a native, citizen, denizen or subject of any nation or state with whom the United States shall be at war, at the time of his application, shall be then admitted to become a citizen. . ." Finally, it provided a registration procedure for aliens residing in this country and ordered incoming aliens to register "within forty-eight hours after the first arrival or coming into the. . .United States." 1/

This Act superseded the Nationalization Act of March 26, 1790, and in turn, was repealed under the urging of President Thomas Jefferson in the Act of April 14, 1802. 2/

b. The Alien Act, approved on June 25, 1798, authorized the President to deport aliens who ~~are~~ were

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1/ U. S. Statutes at Large, II, p. 153-5
2/ W. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book of American History, p. 259

adjudged "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States", or who ~~are~~ were "suspect" of engaging in machinations against this Government. It put the burden on any alien to "prove to the satisfaction of the President. . .that no injury or danger. . .will arise from suffering such alien to reside therein. ." 1/ The language was ambiguous enough to apply to a number of aliens in the Republican camp who were thorns in the political sides of the Federalists. The latter had resolved "to destroy the opposition, if possible." 2/

The Alien Act continued in force for two years. Of course, it was not re-enacted in 1800 by the triumphant Republicans.

c. The Alien Enemies Act, approved July 6, 1798, provided that subjects over 14 years of age of a country officially at war with the United States (i.e. France) "shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed, as alien enemies." 3/

The Sedition Act was introduced by Senator Lloyd of Maryland, a relatively obscure Federalist, on June 23, 1798, to "define more particularly the crime of treason, and to

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1/ U. S. Statutes at Large, I, pp. 570-2
2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization, p. 376
3/ U. S. Statutes at Large I, pp. 577-8

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punish the crime of sedition." 1/

The bill had many congressional ups and downs. It was assailed by the two leading Federalists who were disgusted at this overplay of partisan politics. John Marshall said that the contemplated Sedition Law would arouse rather than allay discontent. Alexander Hamilton warned his colleagues:

> "Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence." 2/

The Sedition Act passed both houses. It had a narrow 44 to 41 squeak in the House of Representatives.

The first section provided a fine not exceeding $5,000 and imprisonment for terms between 6 months and 5 years for persons who "unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government . . .or to impede the operation of any law. . .and if any person or persons, with intent as aforesaid, shall counsel, advise or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly or combination. . .shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor."

The second section was directed against persons who uttered or published "false, scandalous and malicious. . . writings" against the President, Congress or Government officials "to bring them. . .into contempt or disrepute; or to

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1/ W. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book of American History, p. 265

2/ Letter to Oliver Wolcott, June 29, 1798, The Works of Alexander Hamilton, vol. X, p. 295

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excite against them. . .the hatred of the good people of the United States." A fine up to $2,000 and a prison sentence up to 2 years were provided. The Sedition Bill finally provided its own death sentence on March 3, 1801, the last day of the Adams Administration. Its demise was not disturbed. 1/

3. Effect

Although the Alien and Sedition Acts were taken seriously by many people who honestly believed they were designed to afford the President an effective weapon against what was deemed an especially pernicious and dangerous form of domestic opposition in time of war, they are now best remembered as the first serious post-ratification threat to the Bill of Rights of the fledgling American Nation. They are also well remembered for the part they are presumed to have played in bringing about the defeat of the Federalists in the Election of 1800, and their subsequent demise. 2/

Ex-President John Adams felt somewhat sheepish about his part in this devilish scheme to foist a Federalist dictatorship upon the Nation. In 1813, after a period of contemplation, he wrote Thomas Jefferson defending his conduct and asserting that he had not applied the Alien Law in

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1/ U. S. Statutes at Large, I, pp. 596-7
2/ F. M. Anderson, "The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts", American Historical Association Annual Report, 1912, pp. 115-7

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a single instance. While his statement is technically correct, evidence is available that a number of aliens left the country rather than face the firm possibility of forcible ejection. 1/

At no time did the Adams Administration indicate that enforcement of the Alien Laws would be anything but strict. As we shall see later, the Sedition Act was used time and again to thwart alleged seditious conspiracies. With Judges like Samuel Chase on the bench, accused persons had little chance of escaping conviction.

However, this is somewhat ahead of our story. As regards Republican sympathizers who departed just ahead of attempts to deport them, under the terms of the Alien Laws, we have the following case studies:

4. Alien Act Charges

a. The John D. Burk Case

Burk, an immigrant from Ireland, had fled to America to avoid arrest for sedition. It seems that he settled in New York City and soon became one of the editors of "Time Piece", a vigorous Republican publication. One of his articles insinuated that a letter from one of our foreign emissaries to President Adams, which had been

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1/ John Adams, Writings, vol. 10, p. 42

communicated to Congress, was a forgery, at least in part. Whereupon, Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, wrote to the Federal District Attorney, "If Burk be an Alien, no man is fitter subject for the operation of the Alien Act. Although Burk should prove to be an Alien, it may be expedient to punish him for his libels, before he is sent away." 1/

Burk was indicted, but the case never came to trial, as an outside-the-court agreement was made that Burk leave the country. Apparently, Burk did not depart, but went into hiding until after Jefferson's election. This is evidenced by an exçhange of letters between the two dated 1801. 2/

b. The General Victor Collot Case

General Collot was stationed in America during the Revolution as an officer in Rochambeau's army sent to aid the embattled colonies, and remained after hostilities ceased. In 1792, he was appointed Governor of Guadeloupe. Two years later, the island was surrendered to the British and he was released to go to the United States on parole. In 1796, he was commissioned by the French to make an extensive tour of Louisiana, which was

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1/ Unpublished Letter, Pickering Papers, XXXVII, p. 315
2/ F. M. Anderson, "The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts", American Historical Association Annual Report 1912, p. 119

then part of France, and the western part of the United States. His actions were naturally subject to much suspicion on the part of many Americans anxious that the United States obtain control of Louisiana. In 1798, Secretary of State Pickering asked the President to sign papers authorizing deportation of General Collot. The State Department archives at this point are not clear, but indications are that Collot left the country before he could be deported.

5. Sedition Act Charges (4 classes)

The charges made under the Section Act fall in four general categories:

First, proceedings aimed at key Republican newspapers. There were four leading ones, the most influential of which was the "Aurora" (Philadelphia). This paper was chosen as the main target with the thought that if the charges were upheld, a precedent would be established to silence the Republican press. In fact, Benjamin Bache, the editor, was arrested almost three weeks before the Sedition Act became law. Bache died before he could be brought to trial.

Second, proceedings aimed at minor Republican papers. At least four editors were convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. 1/

1/ F. M. Anderson, Op. cit., p. 121. Among the "seditious" editors were John Burk, New York "Time Piece"; Haswell, "Vermont Gazette"; William Durrell, Mt. Pleasant, New York "Register"; and Charles Holt, New London, Connecticut, "Bee."

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Third, prosecution of prominent individuals who espoused the Republican cause. Congressman Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, and Dr. Thomas Cooper, a well-known English-born scientist residing in Pennsylvania, were accused of seditious utterances and convicted. One other case, not so well known, is the sedition charge leveled against Jedadiah Peck, a member of the New York Legislature, by Judge William Cooper, a political rival. It seems that Peck had circulated a petition in New York asking Congress to repeal the sedition laws. Peck was subjected to a good deal of persecution before the case was dropped "from consideration of political prudence."

Fourth, proceedings against minor nuisances. Cases were developed against Benjamin Fairbanks and David Brown for participating in the erection of a "Liberty Pole" in Dedham, Massachusetts, with the inscription, "No Stamp Act, no Sedition, no Alien Bills, no Land Tax; downfall to the Tyrants of America." 1/

Their cases were tried before Federal Judge Samuel Chase, who later, as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was impeached in 1804 by an

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1/ F. M. Anderson, "The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts", American Historical Association Annual Report, 1912, p. 122

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irate House of Representatives for having delivered "stump speeches. . .when instructing juries." 1/

Officially, he was tried for "high crimes and misdemeanors" in the cases of John Fries, charged with treason, and James T. Callender, for alleged libel on John Adams. 2/

Justice Chase was the first and only Supreme Court Justice in the history of the United States to suffer impeachment. The fact that he was acquitted by the Federalist-controlled Senate does not change the general impression among historians, gained from testimony adduced at his trial, that he engaged in extremely questionable practices in seeking to limit the constitutional rights of defendants appearing before him. 3/

6. Statistics on Alien and Sedition Acts

As we have seen, there were no actual convictions under the Alien Acts, although they were not without influence.

There were 24 or 25 persons arrested under the Sedition Acts. At least 15 persons were indicted. Only 10, possibly 11, cases came to trial. In 10, the accused were pronounced guilty. No official records on the 11th case are available, but an unofficial newspaper account indicates

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1/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization I, p. 385
2/ Extracts, Journal, U. S. Senate in All Cases of Impeachment, 1798-1904, p. 35-60
3/ Charles A. Beard, Op cit

a judgment of acquittal in this case. 1/

7. Conclusions

From the accounts of the Alien and Sedition Laws in many histories one is likely to get the impression that, having been enacted in a moment of panic, their enforcement was afterwards neglected by the Administration and that such prosecutions as occurred were due wholly to the initiative of subordinate Federal officials. Such an impression is not correct. While there is no evidence to show that President Adams personally interested himself in the enforcement of either law, his energetic Secretary of State, Pickering; the Federal Judges, especially Justice Chase; and the Federal District Attorneys were quite active in this spy hunt.

Secretary of State Pickering was the most aggressive, notwithstanding his tremendous activity in other matters. His unpublished letters (Pickering Papers) indicate that he scanned the columns of numerous Republican newspapers, then wrote to local District Attorneys urging them to prosecute. In other cases, they would write to him, calling his attention to possible occasions for sedition prosecutions.

1/ Frank M. Anderson, "The Enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws", American History Association Annual Report, 1912, p. 120

We may conclude that a systematic effort was made to enforce the Sedition Law. This statement is made in full consideration of the limitations of communications that existed at that time. The record shows that leading newspapers in all the coastal states - except in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, where there were few Jeffersonians - were charged with sedition during the two and one-half year effective period of the legislation. The Federalist strategy employed was based upon the belief that successful prosecution of the big fellows would effectively silence "small-fry" opposition in any particular area.

The aroused public opinion, instrumental in sweeping Thomas Jefferson into the Presidency in 1800, reacted against the Federalists in other ways. Some of this intense feeling was expressed in riot. Other Republican sentiment expressed itself in the Virginia-Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. The first Kentucky Resolution, originally drafted by Thomas Jefferson, declared the Sedition Act to be "altogether void and of no effect." 1/

James Madison wrote the Virginia Resolution which implied ultimate recourse to secession "in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights and liberties" of the

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1/ W. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926, No. 62, p. 269

people of Virginia in the face of this unconstitutional legislation. 1/

The Alien Laws served as a later precedent for super-patriotic persons bent on persecuting persons of foreign birth in the name of liberty, Americanism, etc. Examples:

First, the Immigration Act (Johnson Law), passed in 1924. It followed on the heels of the "Red Menace" hysteria in the immediate post-war period. It limited the number of immigrants to "2% of the number of foreign-born individuals of any nationality resident in continental United States as...of 1890..." As historian Beard has pointed out, "The undoubted design . . .was to reduce the immigration from Asia and from Southern and Eastern Europe for the purpose of preserving the racial balance and keeping out radical ideas." 2/

Second, the recent Displaced Persons Immigration Law (1948), which has been ~~accused of restricting the immigration of~~ critiqued as discriminatory against displaced Catholics and Jews.

The Sedition Laws served as a precedent for:

First, the Espionage Act of 1917, designed to curb non-conformity with the objectives of World War I.

Second, the Mundt Bill, under congressional consideration in 1949, a current attempt to require

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1/ W. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926, No. 63, p. 276

2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization II, pp. 767-8

conformity by means of sedition legislation.

Third, a number of State laws, including the "Ober Law", in Maryland, which was declared unconstitutional on August 15, 1949, and the Feinberg Law, in New York, which is being enforced.

PART IV

APPENDIX

C. Source Material -- Antimasonry, 1826-40

1. Background

The intermittent persecution of the Masonic Order, a fraternal organization, between 1826 and 1840 is an early example of intolerance and mass hysteria in the United States. The movement, Antimasonry, entered the National political arena, and sought to elect its candidates on a very narrow, partisan program of opposition to secret orders and rites. When it achieved a measure of public support, Antimasonry broadened its base and became a potent weapon in the hands of those who sought to suppress all evidences of non-conformity as they might appear on the American scene.

Strangely enough, Antimasonry reached the peak of its influence and power at the same time that Jacksonian Democracy came into its own. During Andrew Jackson's two Administrations, the franchise was extended to include other than property owners. Temperance, abolition of capital punishment, greater recognition of the working man's

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rights, 1/ the rise of Owenism, 2/ and other non-conformist humanitarian movements were bestirring themselves.

A renaissance of religious thought was also taking place. Ideas of more freedom from authoritarian dogma, arising out of the social and intellectual upheavals then shaking Europe, were given wide circulation in this country. New sects of Christianity appeared. The Mormons split off and went out on their own. Missionary zeal was at a high pitch. Bible and tract societies were organized and began to preach in the hinterlands. Orthodox religion gazed askance at these developments.

For some time during the early 1820's, the increasing popularity of the Masonic Order, with its secret ceremonies, intense loyalties, and generally ritualistic conduct which held a certain fascination for adults seeking relief from the tedium of everyday living, was viewed with uneasiness. This tension was unorganized at first but as it built up, it needed only a "torch to light up the train."

2. The Movement is Launched.

The appropriate "incident" - history has always seemed to provide one at the appropriate time - concerned one

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1/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization I, p. 644, reports the existence of 53 unions in Philadelphia, 52 in New York, 23 in Baltimore, and 16 in Boston in 1836, where there were practically none in 1828 when Jackson took office.

2/ A special brand of socialism named for Robert Owen.

William Morgan, a Mason who had fallen into poverty and some disrepute. The circumstances surrounding his case are very cloudy. It appears that he was refused membership in a Masonic Lodge in Batavia, New York, and by way of reprisal had threatened to publish a book exposing the innermost secrets of the Order.

A group of over-zealous Masons kidnapped Morgan from his debtor's cell in Canandaigua, New York, and spirited him to the vicinity of Niagara Falls, where he was lost sight of forever. It was claimed that the Masons had murdered Morgan to prevent exposure of their secret practices. There is no conclusive proof that this charge was justified. In any event, the court trial of his alleged abductors elicited the greatest interest, not only throughout New York State, but throughout the Union.

A short time later, a publication entitled "Illustrations of Masonry" began to circulate under the by-line of William Morgan. It was a rather mild opus, containing neither scandal nor sensation. It was followed by many other publications and sermons decidedly not mild, the authors of which sought to capitalize on the rising tide of Antimasonic feeling.

In fact, at the height of the movement, about 150 newspapers had been founded to deliver the Nation from the

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"menace." Among them were 45 weeklies and 1 daily in New York, and 55 weeklies in Pennsylvania, two of the centers of Antimasonry. 1/

It was not long before the Masons were being accused of an infinite variety of crimes, ranging from sacrilege and profaning the Holy Scripture to sexual excesses, organized murder and plotting against the liberties of the people. 2/

Numbers of persons launched careers for themselves, lecturing on the general "I was a Mason" theme. One of these was the Reverend Lebbeus Armstrong, "late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Northampton, New York," who warned his listeners ~~lest~~ that the evils of Masonry might subvert the Government and the church. He cited William Morgan's attempt to expose the Order and concluded that Morgan was murdered for it "in accordance with the settled laws of the Masonic institution, in strict conformity with its requirements and in nothing inconsistent with the obligations which it imposes on its members." 3/

Other prominent ecclesiastics got into the act, intoning against Masonry, a most convenient "whipping boy." As

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1/ Charles McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party, American History Association Report, 1902, p. 549
2/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 231
3/ Reverend Lebbeus Armstrong, William Morgan, Abducted and Murdered by Masons, (Published New York, 1831) p. 12

many of the clergy began to identify themselves with the newly formed Antimasonic political party, it soon became widely known as "The Christian Party."

Suspected Masons were boycotted and sometimes insulted and maltreated on the streets. Shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers, and others lost patronage unless they could show that they were opposed to all secret societies. 1/

Other secret organizations were affected. Phi Beta Kappa, founded in 1776, the first of the Greek letter college societies to promote scholarship, had to drop its secrecy and turn itself into an open discussion group.

3. Antimasonry in Politics

The Antimasonic Party was organized in 1827 with its focal point in Rochester, New York. Early tests at the polls gave it surprising strength, due in part to its vigor and in part to its filling the vacuum left by the declining National Republican Party of John Q. Adams. So successful were the Antimasonic candidates in local elections in 1827, that "the results. . .astonished all, even the Antimasons themselves, and opened the eyes of politicians to the growing power of the new party." 2/

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 234
2/ J. Hammond, Political History of New York, Vol. II, p. 382

These startling developments encouraged Antimasonic politicians to look forward hopefully to 1828, a Presidential election year. The Democratic Party, which was to nominate Andrew Jackson, grew alarmed at the turn of events, despite the fact that its candidate's personality completely overshadowed that of his opponent, John Quincy Adams, the incumbent.

In the ensuing campaign, the National Republicans were quick to capitalize on the fact that Andrew Jackson was known to be a Mason. President Adams ridiculed Masonry's "childish pageantry and the mock solemnity of its processions." He condemned it for its participation in sundry crimes and was quoted for publication as having stated:

> ". . .I am not, never was, and never shall be a Freemason." 1/

Among the other politicians, Daniel Webster denounced the Masonic Order and demanded that its secret oaths be prohibited by law. 2/

Later on, Adams even went further, suggesting that "good wholesome penalties of fine and imprisonment" be imposed on persons refusing to disown the Masonic Order. 3/

1/ Letter, President John Quincy Adams to Oliver Heartwell, March 31, 1828
2/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 234
3/ Letter, President John Quincy Adams to Benjamin Cowell, Esq. (Published, Providence, Rhode Island, 1833) p. 16

Nevertheless, ~~Notwithstanding~~, Jackson won the election by a handy margin, although the Antimasons showed surprising strength. This success, however, was tempered by the fact that sharp cleavages began to appear between the practical politicians of the Thurlow Weed stripe, who merely used the Antimasonic sentiment for partisan purposes, and the militant extremists, who were less interested in furthering Adams' political fortunes than they were in stamping out what they considered to be heretical subversion. 1/

However, the Antimasonic Party made a good showing in 1830 and girded itself for the Presidential campaign of 1832. Although the coalition of anti-Jackson elements made a good showing, it failed to swing the State of New York, the hub of its political power, by 13,000 votes. The Antimasons ran William Wirt, who subsequently turned out to have been a Mason at one time. In fact, Wirt had defended the Masonic Order before the Convention which nominated him. 2/

The seeds of dissension had already been sown by the schism among the party leaders. After 1832, the Antimasonic Party was past its peak. Most of the falling pieces were absorbed in the new Whig Party. The extremists joined the

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1/ Encyclopedia Britannica (1949 edition), vol. II, p. 67
2/ J. Hammond, Political History of New York, vol. II, p. 382

Know-Nothings, a movement tailor-made to carry forward their narrow prejudices.

4. Its Influence was Profound

Antimasonry was said to be mainly a New England movement and one which found its chief support in rural rather than urban areas. 1/

While this statement is essentially correct, the following curious facts should be pointed out:

a. Sizable support for the movement appeared in rural New York and Pennsylvania. As previously pointed out, Rochester was a hot-bed of Antimasonry. As opposed to this, the Masons found many defenders of their cause in the large Eastern cities like Boston, New York and Philadelphia. 2/

b. Antimasonry found itself in the opposite camp from the Jacksonian Democrats, who in turn drew most of their support from the rural areas of the South and Southwest. This was in contrast with the North, where the conservative farmers were distrustful of the "radical" tendencies displayed by Jackson and his followers. 3/

For obvious reasons, Antimasonry showed little sympathy for any of the ideas which stemmed from the French Revolution.

1/ Charles McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party, American History Association Report, 1902, p. 547
2/ Ibid
3/ Ibid, pp. 547-8

It associated the French brand of Democracy with disorder and atheism. Masonry was closely associated, in the minds of many Americans, with the French secret societies which had played an important role in the upheaval in that country.

5. Case Histories

The Masons did not take the organized persecution "lying down." Many among them were influential men, including a number of newspaper publishers. Others held high public office. Yet, their counter-efforts were not too successful. It has been pointed out that their "determined opposition and. . .strength displayed served only to prove their opponents' arguments that the /Masonic/ organization was using its strength. . .to subvert the Government." 1/

At the height of its power, tense public opinion spurred on by the Antimasons forced many people to retire from the Order. One account reports that "lodges by scores and hundreds went down before the torrent and were swept away. In the State of New York alone upward of 400 lodges, or two-thirds of the craft, became extinct * * * in June, 1838, there were only 46 lodges at work in Pennsylvania." 2/

1/ Charles McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party, American History Association Report, 1902, p. 539
2/ Ibid

10 Antimasonry has been attributed ~~with~~ at least partial responsibility for numerous outbreaks of mob passion, as follows:

a. Persecution of the newly-founded Mormon sect in Missouri. This religious group was nearly exterminated in the so-called "Haun's Mill Massacre," ~~which occurred~~ in 1838.

b. The "Buckshot War." In that same year violence made a brief incursion into Pennsylvania. Mob hysteria was roused to fever pitch as a result of the notoriously crooked elections in Philadelphia County. A mob invaded the State Legislature at Harrisburg and took over not only the Legislature, but the whole city as well, for days. When order was finally restored with the Democrats in control, the Antimasons who had stirred up much of the rancor, had been completely discredited in Pennsylvania as a political party. Thaddeus Stevens, one of the bitter-end Antimasons, was expelled from his seat in the Legislature. He was, however, restored to his post at a subsequent election. 1/

1/ Charles McCarthy, The Anti-Masonic Party, American History Association Report, 1902, p. 501

c. The Aroostook War, Maine, 1839. This armed conflict arose out of a dispute with the British concerning the Maine-Canadian border. Maine was in no mood to argue the matter peaceably and mustered 10,000 men to convince the British of the error of their wars. Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed. A compromise was worked out and the dispute was finally arbitrated before the fighting could get well underway. 1/

d. Panic of 1837. The public anxiety resulting from Antimasonic activity is partially responsible for some of the excesses which occurred during this period of economic upheaval. The Panic was characterized by sharp unemployment and a scarcity of food in the big cities. What with the ugly temper of the times, the tendency of mobs to take the law into their own hands became progressively stronger. New York City had its riots. A mob invaded a flour warehouse, and stood off the Mayor and police for hours before yielding. In the end, order was restored and 400 persons went to jail. Philadelphia and Baltimore had demonstrations, although they were halted short of armed violence. In New Orleans,

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1/ A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the U. S., p. 68

a mob of shopkeepers and hucksters sacked the offices of the exchange brokers and later threatened to seize the banks. In Louisville, a broker's office was raided and in Cincinnati, a mob wrecked several brokers' offices, held off an armed posse, and looted two bank vaults of $224,000 in specie. 1/

e. Even polite society was overcome by the mob spirit on occasion. During the temperance mania of the 1840 period, New York church women took it upon themselves to raid saloons and break up the ~~and generally break up the places~~. In 1849, the longstanding rivalry between Charles Macready, the English tragedian, and Edwin Forrest, the popular American actor, led to the infamous Astor Place riot, which was put down by the New York militia. Twenty-two people were killed, however, and some thirty wounded, including a few eminent bankers and respectable professional men. 2/

6. Conclusions

Antimasonry was a widespread movement formed with the ostensible purpose of opposing the alleged evils inherent in the secret rites of the Masonic Order. In its political form it was narrowly partisan and was used to some advantage

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 242
2/ Ibid

to prop up the decaying National Republican Party. The demise of the latter, however, was only temporarily suspended.

As the base of Antimasonry broadened, it fostered a deep-seated suspicion of any political and religious nonconformity entirely removed from its original purpose. It was substantially aided by the adverse reaction to the increase in immigration which reached flood-tide proportions starting in 1830. Since the Irish-Catholics constituted the majority of the newcomers, coupled with the fact that they wasted little time affiliating themselves with local Democratic Party machines in the big Eastern seaboard cities, the Antimasonic fervor took on a distinct rural anti-Jackson hue.

That the Irish-Catholics were naturally attracted to the easy-going informality of Andrew Jackson and the liberal philosophies which he espoused is not surprising. The emigres had recently escaped from the hardships of Ireland and various and sundry forms of British persecution. Any public figure who would take up the cudgels in behalf of the 19th Century "common man" could almost certainly count on their unanimous political support.

~~In addition to his having antagonized~~ Jackson was opposed not only by the conservative farmers in the Middle and North Atlantic States, ~~Jackson was opposed~~ but by mercantile interests under the leadership of

Nicholas Biddle 1/, who fought him on the issue of the United States Bank. Here was the basis for an anti-Jackson political party which emerged as the conservative Whig Party, after its traditional British counterpart.

In short order, most of the people who had supported Antimasonry on the basis of political expediency joined the Whig Party, whereupon the still fanatic Antimasons were left with an all but disintegrated political machine. They did not remain isolated for long, as they found common cause with one or more of the nativist fringe movements which began to blossom out as the Know-Nothing Party.

By 1840, organized Antimasonry was dead. The hate and intolerance which it had engendered, however, was not. They were merely channelled in another direction.

1/ Nicholas Biddle, a well-known American financier, was President of the United States Bank. The Bank's charter expired in 1833 and Jackson, sworn enemy of Biddle, withdrew Government deposits from the Bank.

PART IV

APPENDIX

D. Source Material -- Know-Nothing Movement 1840-1856

1. Derivation of the Name

The "Know-Nothing" movement ~~derives from the boast~~ that it ~~knows~~ no interest above country. It gave formal expression to American political "nativism", a species of extreme Nationalism, the first organized movement of its kind in the United States. ~~Basically~~, Its philosophy suggested that some basic tenet of our "American Way of Life" had been threatened by persons ~~and~~/or ideas having their roots in a foreign soil. Many Americans succumbed to a human tendency to feel superior, a feeling which found a natural outlet in Know-Nothingism.

2. Early History

The movement goes back as far as 1801 in the form of mild resistance to President Jefferson's order displacing a few native job holders with men born on foreign soil.

In 1815, immigration from Europe was increasing, and the murmuring grew into a complaint that this horde was not interested in accepting our institutions, but was attracted by "cheap lands, high wages, food in plenty and freedom

from military service." One orator warned us that "in welcoming what seem to be the oppressed of other lands we may be taking an adder into our bosom." 1/

By 1830 patriots and press were trumpeting their alarm at the evils they saw arising from this flood of "foreign paupers." Since most of the immigrants were Irish-Catholics, a good deal of religious fuel was added to the fire.

Diligent search adduced documentary evidence alleging that George Washington had once written to John Adams opposing large-scale immigration. Washington became "The Original Know-Nothing", although he had only written in objection to the appointment of too many foreigners to high-ranking posts in the fledgling United States Government. The nativists, of course, felt no qualms about garbling Washington's intent as being opposed to any immigration. 2/

3. Immigration Spurs the Movement

Generally, nativism was a Northern experience. It cropped out in its most virulent form in places like New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, which had to absorb a

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 235
2/ M. E. Thomas, Nativism in the Old North West, 1850-1860 p. 132

tremendous influx of Irish-Catholics during the 1830-50 period, and the Mid-West, which more or less welcomed thousands of people of German and Scandinavian descent.

On the other hand, Southern nativists were small in number and ineffective. Undoubtedly, this was largely due to the fact that the vast majority of immigrants settled in either the large urban areas of the East or moved out to the North Central States. Few of them moved below the Mason-Dixon Line. The South's own minority problem -- the Negro -- was proving to be one of sizable proportions and held most of its attention.

A review of census statistics for the first half of the 19th century reveals two things of importance in this connection. In 1830, there were in the United States, liberally estimated, but 400,000 foreign-born out of a total population of 13,000,000. 1/ By contrast, there came to this country between 1830 and 1850 nearly 2,500,000 immigrants, who made up about 25% of an increase in population from 12,900,000 to 23,200,000. 2/

Another outstanding statistic: Between 1847 and 1856, which encompasses the great Irish potato famine (1847) and the revolution in Germany (1848), over 3,000,000 immigrants

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1/ J. W. Brownell, History of Immigration to the U. S., p. 61
2/ Ibid

arrived in America, or twice the number arriving in the previous 70 years. 1/

~~For the reason that~~ Because immigrants offered cheap labor and economic competition, and their clannish behavior constituted a voting threat to the established political balance of power, the Know-Nothing movement began to mushroom throughout the North and Mid-West. It was directed against the Germans in Cincinnati, the Scandinavians in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the Irish in the East, among other minorities. Mainly, though, it was directed against Catholics.

4. Bigotry is Self-Feeding

Anti-Catholic bias was whipped into a frenzy by the participation of many noted persons. The Reverend Lyman Beecher, later associated with the prohibition movement, stirred popular feelings with his fiery sermons against Catholicism. Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, published a series of letters in the "New York Journal of Commerce" charging the Pope with scheming to set up a Catholic State in America.

"The great truth, clearly and unanswerably proved, that the political revolutions (in Europe). . .are the natural

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1/ Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 15 (1949 ed) p. 466

effects of the Protestant Reformation," said Morse. From this his twisted logic concluded, "Protestantism favours Republicanism, while Popery as naturally supports Monarchial Power." 1/

Morse directed attention particularly to Irish-Catholics, who, he felt, still referred to Ireland as their "beloved country." The average Irishman "glories in being Irish, forms and cherishes an Irish interest, brings hither Irish local feuds, and forgets, in short, all his new obligations as an American. . ." 2/

"Popery", under the guise of Irish immigrants, said Morse, menaced the country. He urged that immigration regulations be imposed so that "no foreigner who comes into the country after the law is passed shall ever be entitled to the right of suffrage." 3/

Following this lead came a series of "confessions" by nuns who had "escaped" from convents. Lurid tales of a "now it can be told" nature appeared about alleged happenings within the walls of Catholic missions.

~~Inevitably,~~ Mob hysteria ~~began to intensify~~ became widespread. There

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1/ Samuel F. B. Morse, Imminent Dangers to the Free Institution of the U. S. through Foreign Immigration, and the Present State of the Naturalization Laws, (11 letters) Published, New York, 1835, p. 8
2/ Ibid, p. 24
3/ Ibid, p. 29

ensued a number of dreadful riots, including the burning and pillaging of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts, which set off long and continuous riots in Boston. 1/ A priest at Ellsworth, Maine, was tarred and feathered. A Catholic Church in Manchester, New Hampshire, was wrecked. Other riots were instigated among Catholic and Negro workers on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and among Chesapeake and Ohio Canal workers near Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1834.

5. Know-Nothingism in Politics

The nativists entered politics at this time. At first they had contented themselves with endorsing the candidates of other parties. When their power began to be felt they advanced their own candidates. The Native American Party in New York State ran Samuel F. B. Morse for Mayor in 1834. His platform reflected the single-minded desire to negate the alleged threat of the rapidly increasing political influence of the papal power in the United States. Morse was defeated in the election, but the seeds of bitterness he sowed ~~reaped~~ produced a lush harvest.

In 1836, New York City's East side was torn by ~~mob rule featuring~~ riots between Irish immigrants and "loyal" Americans. The latter demanded that the King James Bible

1/ E. G. Loucks, The Ku-Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, Chapter, "Some Beginnings of Nativism", p. 4

be read and taught in the common schools. The Irish fought back by entering politics and soon dominated Tammany Hall.

The political power of the Catholics in New York State, voting in a bloc for self-defense, proved to be a potent factor in the Presidential election of 1844 which went to James K. Polk over Henry Clay, his Whig opponent, by 170 to 105 electoral votes. However, in the popular vote just 38,000 votes, in a total of 2.7 million cast, separated the major party candidates. James C. Birney, the anti-slavery Liberty Party candidate, who received 62,000 votes, mostly in New York, controlled the balance of power.

The election results led Millard Fillmore, an aspiring New York Whig politician, to write to Clay, his fallen chief, a few days after his defeat, as follows:

> "The abolitionists and foreign Catholics have defeated us in this state. . .Our opponents, by pointing to the Native Americans. . .drove the foreign Catholics from us and defeated us. . ." 1/

Charles A. Beard, the eminent historian, agrees that Birney, "By taking a few thousand votes from Clay, gave the Presidency to Polk." 2/

Every movement, be it in the realm of the physical or

1/ Letter from Millard Fillmore to Henry Clay, dated November 11, 1844, Buffalo, New York

2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization, p. 701

social sciences, sets up a counter-movement. Thus, Catholic bloc-voting aroused organized opposition in 1844. This sentiment did not express itself as a definite trend in the Presidential race, perhaps because the Liberty Party had injected the vibrant anti-slavery issue which crossed Whig and Democratic Party lines. It crystallized, however, in local matters. Under the guise of the "American Republican Party", the Know-Nothings succeeded in electing James Harper, the book publisher, as Mayor of New York City.

The tensions and anxieties which grew among the people had other contemporary manifestations of lawlessness:

a. The Helderberg "Rent War"

This was an intermittent armed struggle in the upper Hudson valley (New York) between farmers and owners of the land, who as descendants of the original patroons, were still exacting quitrents. This struggle lasted from 1839 to 1845. "Anti-Renters" disguised as Indians committed acts of violence in an effort to gain recognition. A number of riots were quelled by hangings and prison sentences. Some good came out of it all, however, in the enactment of a liberalized New York State constitution in 1846. 1/

1/ A. C. Flick, A Short History of the State of New York, pp. 180-6

b. The Panic of 1837

The Panic, which hit the poor man very hard, brought its crop of mass stealing in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other cities. It was much easier to obtain results by force, since it had been demonstrated to the mob that legal restraints could be cast aside with impunity in the interests of racial and religious bigotry. 1/

6. The Movement Reaches Peak Strength

By 1840, a dozen or more propaganda or pressure agencies had been formed to keep the country safe for Protestant Americanism, the more notable of them being the Order of United Americans, the United American Mechanics, the United Sons of America, and the Order of the Star Spangled Banner.

The first and last of these formed the nucleus of the "Know-Nothing" Party, a not inconsiderable political factor in the 1840-1856 period. Nativism had taken on national proportions in 1844. It spread into 14 states, each of which sent delegates to Philadelphia the following year to attend the first National convention of the Native American Party.

Riots and bloodshed accompanied this development. Perhaps the most notorious was the pilfering of a block of

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 242

marble sent by the Pope as his contribution to the Washington Monument. This unhappy incident created much hard feeling and was a factor in the cessation of work on the Monument for 26 years. 1/

There are other important, although less prominent, cases in the 1844-55 period which illustrate the growing power of Know-Nothingism and its increasing tendency to resort to other than peaceful persuasion to accomplish its nefarious purpose:

a. In Massachusetts, a Know-Nothing legislature sent a committee to seek out in the convents and seminaries evidence of "high living" and "papist plotting."

1/ The Washington Monument cornerstone had been laid in 1848. By 1854 it had reached a height of 152 feet when an act occurred at the Monument which created much indignation and public discussion throughout the country. A block of marble, originally a part of the Temple of Concord at Rome, was stolen, and no trace of it was ever found. It was said to have been dropped in the Potomac River. At the time, contributions of stones from societies, municipalities and the several States were being encouraged, so the Pope's gift was not an unusual one. The disappearance of the stone angered and estranged many people and discouraged the collection of public contributions so that all construction ceased. Work did not recommence on the Monument until 1880. The capstone was finally set in 1884. (Source: Caemmerer "Manual on Origin and Development of Washington." Vol. 1, page 203)

b. There are cases reported in both Maine and Massachusetts of Catholic children being flogged or expelled from school for refusing to study the Protestant Bible.

c. There were the Kensington Riots in Philadelphia, May 3, 1844. It appears from a partisan account that a group of Native American Republican citizens had assembled to discuss "in lawful manner" the infiltration of foreigners into the community. The speaker was about to address them, it was reported, when a band of fierce and lawless Catholic Irishmen, many of them aliens, interposed. The latter were accused of starting a riot in which a number of people were killed and injured. The report states that, at first, the Native Americans were as nonresistant as "Quakers", but in the end, "A question arose whether American citizens should cowardly surrender to a lawless band of ruffians. . ." In the ensuing battle and in the subsequent Southwark Riot at least 13 were killed and many others injured. 1/

This account may be true, although an observer

1/ Proceedings of the Native American State Convention, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, Published Philadelphia, 1845, pp. 16-24

would be inclined to be skeptical in the light of the distortions of truth which Know-Nothings ~~patented~~ put out during this period.

d. Philadelphia was torn by other rioting in 1844 over the insistence that the Protestant version of the Bible be used exclusively in the public schools. There was much bloodshed and destruction of property. It was necessary to call out the militia three times to stop the lawlessness. 1/

e. The Know-Nothings caused a good deal of dissension in 1852 when they accused President Franklin Pierce of having traded the Postmaster Generalship to the Catholics for the so-called "papal influence" at the ballot box. They claimed that the pope named Judge James Campbell, a Catholic, to the post and had definite assurances of his appointment by the President before the American people heard it. 2/

Actually, Campbell was a shrewd Pennsylvania politician who had worked for the Democratic nomination of James Buchanan in 1852. When "dark horse" Franklin K.

1/ T. R. Whitney, Defense of the American Policy, p. 250, et seq

2/ A. E. Carroll, The Great American Battle, p. 109

Pierce won the bid, Campbell supported his candidacy. Unquestionably, the combination of Campbell's political acumen and the partiality of Catholic voters swung a good deal of support behind Pierce and helped elect him.

President Pierce paid his political debt although it adversely affected his Administration. In 1854, the Democrats lost control of the House of Representatives, due in large measure to the nativists who produced "documentary evidence" that the Papal Nuncio in Madrid had told the United States Minister to Spain, Barninger, in 1852 that if Pierce were elected, a Catholic would be Postmaster General. 1/

f. Not only the politicians but the clergy took up the popular anti-Catholic theme which pervaded the National scene in 1854. One of the rabid partisans was Reverend W. H. Ryder. In one of his typical sermons he slyly suggested:

> "The remarkable success which has attended our national career brought great numbers of foreigners to our shores. Nor do we complain at their coming. In what great numbers they have come among us, is well known. . .We are concerned with. . .not the people themselves

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1/ D. G. Fowler, The Cabinet Politician, The Postmaster General, 1829-1909, pp. 78-81

(but only) with the religion of these people. There are individual Catholics whom we greatly esteem as good citizens and high-minded men, but for Catholicism we have no such regard." 1/

The last sentence exposes a thinly disguised bigot who will often preface an act or statement of prejudice with a variation of "some of my best friends are. . ."

7. Decline

Ryder's statement was made in 1854, at a time the Know-Nothings were "riding herd." The same factor, emotional appeal, which assisted in the ascendancy of political nativism, caused its precipitous decline almost simultaneously with its rise to National prominence. The deadly impact of slavery was already dividing the Nation into two armed camps.

In 1854, Stephen A. Douglas had enunciated his "popular sovereignty" doctrine, and in the same year, disgruntled Whigs and Democrats, united in their opposition to slavery, laid the foundation for the present Republican Party at Ripon, Wisconsin. This new political party won immediate support among those bitterly opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska

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1/ Reverend Wm. H. Ryder, Protestantism in America, p. 163

Act 1/ which, it was felt, opened the gates wide to the extension of slavery. The swiftly shifting political tides sealed the political doom of the Know-Nothings, although, in that same year, the "Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner" (their official secret title) had won control of six different states and had lost six other states by narrow margins. Amazingly, all this was accomplished "without making any public campaign." 2/

By 1856 the Know-Nothing Party had visibly dissolved before the schismatic tendencies which appeared in its internal structure. Northern members ventured into the new Republican Party. Southerners went over into the opposing Democratic camp. Nativism was all but forgotten, although some "fire-eaters" did call a meeting of the "Grand Council of the Know-Nothing Order" in Philadelphia on February 18, 1856, and nominated former President Millard Fillmore, also candidate of the declining Whig Party,

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1/ Enacted in 1854. It marked the last compromise between the aggressive slavery expansionists and the anti-slavery forces. The arbitrary 36°30' dividing line of the Missouri Compromise was, in effect, repealed, and the principle of popular sovereignty established, leaving the inhabitants to decide their own slavery status regardless of their location.

2/ A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the U. S., 1829-1925, p. 146

as their standard bearer. During the balloting, a number of delegates from eight Northern States seceded, and in a rump session, expressed their greater interest in the Republican Party. 1/

Generally, the Know-Nothings, now mainly a Northern splinter group, ceased to be of any importance except in states where they continued to form coalitions which gave local victories to the Republicans. 2/

Withal, the Know-Nothing Party itself was the work of politicians and in no sense was a great popular uprising to reform real abuses and correct serious wrongs. Major party leaders shied away from it, except as expediency dictated from time to time. 3/

For example, Stephen A. Douglas ~~let fall from his lips~~ praise ~~for~~ the remnants of the "American Party" during his bitter campaign against Lincoln for the Illinois Senate seat in 1858. The Republicans decried this turn-about-face attitude and pointed to certain Roman Catholic affiliations which Douglas still maintained. In Illinois, it seemed, nativists controlled more votes than Catholics did, which

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1/ M. E. Thomas, Nativism in the Old Northwest, 1850-60, p. 204
2/ Ibid, p. 229
3/ T. C. Smith, Parties and Slavery, p. 114
A. Harris, A Review of Political Conflict in America, p. 104

accounts for the sub-rosa courting of "Protestant-American" voters. 1/

By the same token, campaigning Democrats pointed to "bigoted" Massachusetts Republicans who had sponsored the infamous "Two Year Amendment" in 1859, which provided that no person of foreign birth should be entitled to vote or to hold office for two years after his naturalization. This was aimed at the Irish who had become a source of anxiety in Massachusetts. The Republicans there had made few gains among the Boston Irish, and were not above making political capital of the issue at small cost to themselves.

It may be said to Abraham Lincoln's credit that he deplored the action taken by Massachusetts despite the possible adverse effects his stand might have on his Presidential candidacy. He said:

> "Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men, I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the Negro; and I should be strangely inconsistent if I should favor any project for the curtailing of the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands and speaking different languages from myself." 2/

In the end, political nativism declined, or at least simmered below the surface of public consciousness in the

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1/ Chicago Press and Tribune, September 10, 1858
2/ Letter to Dr. Theodore Canisius, Springfield, May 17, 1859

period preceding the Civil War because:

a. The transcendant issue of slavery split the nativists on geographical rather than on racial or religious lines.

b. Major party leaders vied for the so-called hyphenated vote concentrated in politically strategic urban areas and dared not jeopardize their future hopes by affiliating with nativism.

8. Conclusions

The rise of Know-Nothingism has more than average contemporary significance because it foreshadowed later political and social developments of Nation-wide scope. Its sordid history effectively illustrates the lesson that racism and religious bigotry tend to set one element of the population off against another. Before long, people get to thinking of themselves as Catholic-Americans, Jewish-Americans, German-Americans, etc.

The "hyphenated" American has no place in this country. His existence in the past has been justified as his only defense against mob prejudice. However, both "hyphenated" groups and the "witch-hunting" which precedes their formation are inimical to the American Way of Life. Their elimination from the contemporary scene is a worthy National objective.

PART IV

APPENDIX

E. Source Material -- Slavery, "The Peculiar Institution," 1820-1861

1. Slavocracy Rises to Meet the Challenge of Abolition

The rise of Abolition during the second quarter of the 19th century was considered to be a direct threat to the "peculiar institution" of slavery and was vigorously opposed by the South. Slavery was justified by means of a curious admixture of religious and ethical concepts on the one hand, and practical economics and politics on the other.

The existence of a Southern semi-feudal aristocracy at this late date was an anachronism. At a time when the philosophy of freedom of the individual was gaining widespread acceptance, most educated Southerners were staunch patriots and loved Democracy, that is, the type fashioned after their own social, political, and economic situation.

When most of Europe and the United States were being swept along in the tide of social and industrial revolution, and when the relative importance of property and human values was being turned upside-down, Southern orators were frequently quoting from classical history and the

Hebrew Scriptures in their quest for an intellectual ~~crutch~~ basis to justify slavery. 1/

There were generous-minded Southerners who, as far as they were concerned, were ready to accept the doctrine of equality in its extremest form, but they trembled for the future. They realized that to do away with slavery was to do away with all for which the Old South stood. The introduction of free labor meant a complete social revolution. It implied the destruction of the plantation system, and the loss of power and influence of the great families. Without the large estates, sons could not be sent off to Oxford and Cambridge. The life of leisure and culture which enabled the Southern gentleman to indulge his taste for oratory and politics would no longer be possible. Therefore, the planter aristocracy did not hesitate to use its tight control of the State Governments, the schools, and the press to defend its vested interest. 2/

It is not surprising that a state of public excitation accompanied a ruthless searching out of all anti-slavery opinion or even lukewarm pro-slavery sentiment.

1/ William A. Schaper, Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina, (American History Association Report, 1900) No. XI, p. 252

2/ Ibid

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There was a high degree of interaction which added up to numerous instances of mob rule and persecution of one sort or another. While these anarchic tendencies were hardly welcome to the planters, who preferred to govern by the passive moral force of a rigid caste system, they were accepted as a necessary evil. Simply, the planter aristocracy -- to borrow from a more contemporary situation -- was not prepared to preside over the dissolution of its empire.

2. The Power of Slavocracy Fed on Ignorance

The mobs that served the ends of slavocracy so well, wielding tar brush and hempen noose with such indiscriminating agility, were made up mainly of poor whites more bitterly hostile to abolitionists and anti-slaveryites than the owners of hundreds of slaves.

Few of them recognized that the institution they were defending was largely responsible for their own sorry lot. They did not understand because they were not equipped with the tools of understanding. For example, on the very eve of the war, a sizable number of Southerners over 20 years of age -- 20.3% to be exact -- were illiterate. 1/

1/ United States Seventh Census (1850) "Statistical View", p. 152

Official Government reports yield another interesting statistic by way of showing the unhappy but consistent correlation between slavery and ignorance. Among the white adults (age 20) in all the slaveholding areas, the illiteracy rate was 17.23%, as opposed to 4.12% in the free states. 1/

Further, the report comments:

> "In New England, so admirable is the school system and so deserving of all imitation that only one (person) in every 400 is incapable of reading and writing. In the South and Southwest the number is one in twelve." 2/

There was no strong movement for a free compulsory education system in the South for at least two reasons:

a. Ignorance and prejudice made it easier to perpetuate Southern feudalism.

b. Most of the support would have to come out of the land in the form of taxes.

To the very eve of the Civil War the Southern schoolmaster stood virtually at the bottom of the social scale, being generally thought unfit for any other task.

This is understandable in the light of what Horace Mann, the famous educator, wrote about South Carolina in

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1/ United States Seventh Census, (1850) "Statistical View", p. 152

2/ Ibid, p. 153

1850. "In the last twenty years", he said, "her whole appropriation for public schools has been less than $40,000 per annum." 1/

In another instance, he is quoted as emphasizing that the large illiteracy rate for the South only told part of the story. There were many equipped with only the barest rudiments of reading and writing who proudly reported in the affirmative to the census takers on the question of their literacy. Mann estimated that 30% of all white adults were in this category. 2/

On the basis of this evidence, we derive the astounding total of 50% of the Southern adult population semi-literate or worse. One of the ironies of the situation is the fact that a typical State like South Carolina waited for a "carpet-bag" Reconstruction Government to enact free compulsory education legislation in 1868. 3/

The early history of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, casts additional light upon the deplorable state of public education to which reference has previously been made. His father, Samuel Davis, a Baptist, sent his

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1/ Horace Mann, essays, On Education, p. 246
2/ U. S. Education Commissioners Report (1870) "Special Report on Condition of Education in District of Columbia", p. 468
3/ Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 21, p. 84

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son to a Catholic school in Kentucky because he felt it was the only one nearby which offered a satisfactory curriculum. Most of his neighbors preferred less drastic alternatives, such as inadequately schooled children.

This brings us to a very nice tie-in with a previous statement about Southern oratorical propensities. As the well-known historian, Professor J. Franklin Jameson, once put it colloquially, but effectively, concerning the Old South:

> "People who cannot read or write are carried away by the highfaluten talk of such speakers as the old time ante-bellum orators. Voters of more education and intelligence accustomed to get their political knowledge from the printed page, and to think it over, are not so easily influenced to act contrary to their own interests by oratorical bunk." 1/

3. Witch-Hunting in the Pre-Civil War South

There was lush soil for the demonstration of "witch-hunting" to further the ends of slavocracy which was manifested in the following ways:

a. Restriction of Academic Freedom

As early as the middle 1830's, most of the Southern institutions of higher learning stood in silent dread

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1/ J. Franklin Jameson, letter to Albert J. Beveridge, May 24, 1926, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. XXXV, No. 4, March 1949, pp. 659-60

of planter-dominated legislatures and cotton-minded trustees. Center College, in Kentucky, a liberal institution, had to give up two instructors because of their attitude toward slavery.

During the decade immediately preceding the Civil War, no professors could discuss slavery, except to praise it. Cases in point:

(1) Professor Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, charged with "black republicanism", was dismissed from his post at the University of North Carolina because he expressed sympathy for John C. Fremont, the Republican Party's candidate in 1856. 1/

(2) Frederick Barnard, President of the University of Mississippi, and later President of Columbia College in New York, was as ardent a champion as slavery ever had, yet he almost lost his position because he happened to have been born in the North. He was charged with being "unsound on the slavery question", whatever that meant, and a demand was made that he be relieved of his post. President Barnard pleaded that he was

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1/ J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Benjamin Sherwood Hedrick, (North Carolina Historical Society), James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. 10, No. 1

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just as ardent a pro-slavery man as any born Southerner, and the case was finally dismissed. 1/

b. Suppression of Freedom of the Press

Slavocracy also regulated freedom of the press. During the 1830-40 period most Southern States passed legislation forbidding the circulation of anti-slavery publications. The Commonwealth of Virginia, in 1836, passed legislation which made it a high crime to advocate Abolition or to question any planter's property rights in slaves. The law also encroached upon the Federal authority to regulate the mails by attempting to bar Abolitionist literature from them.

Maryland went several steps further. In the 1841 session of the State Legislature a bill was passed providing for a 10- to 20-year prison sentence to punish the following crime:

> "If any free negro, etc., shall knowingly call for any abolition handbill. . .having a tendency to create insurrection, etc. among the people of color, etc., /it will/ be deemed a felony." 2/

The next year, Maryland further refined this campaign of repression. A supplemental law outlined the

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1/ John Fulton, Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard, pp. 247-253

2/ Index to Laws of Maryland, 1838-45, (1841 Session, Chapter 272, No. 1) p. 281

procedure for issuing the necessary search warrants upon the sworn oath of any white person that any free Negro, was actively engaged "in concealing or circulating abolition papers to slaves, etc., or furnishing free papers to slaves . . ." 1/

c. Denial of Personal Freedom

It was becoming extremely unhealthy for Abolitionists to venture into the South in person. This was particularly true during the early 1830's. The South had experienced two major Negro rebellions, including the Vesey Insurrection in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, which was attributed to "inflammatory pamphlets . . . finding their way into the hands of the Negroes." 2/ The other, the Nat Turner Rebellion, occurred in Virginia in 1831. As a result, "almost every Southern State enacted new laws which greatly increased the severity of the slave codes." 3/

Both rebellions were ruthlessly suppressed. The South, however, was greatly alarmed, especially after ~~following~~ the Turner incident. "Never again was the

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1/ Index to Laws of Maryland, 1838-45, (1842 Session, Chapter 163, No. 2), p. 282

2/ The Carolina Low Country, (var. ed), published 1931, p. 178

3/ Dictionary of American Biography, essay on "Nat Turner", vol. 19, p. 69-70

slaveholding South free from fear . . . of a wholesale slave uprising." This intense anxiety was reflected in the attitude toward other than strong pro-slavery sentiment. 1/

Nowhere in the South was the right of free discussion admitted. Amos Dresser, an inoffensive college student, sold Bibles in Nashville, Tennessee, to support himself through school. It was discovered that he was a member of the Lane Seminary Anti-Slavery Society and that he had in his possession some publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society. On August 11, 1835, he was whipped and expelled from the community. 2/

Senator William Campbell Preston, of South Carolina, expressed the alarm of the slaveholders on the floor of the upper chamber:

> "Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina. If we can catch him we will try him; and notwithstanding all the interference of all the governments on earth, including the Federal Government, we will hang him." 3/

This defiance of the Federal Government did not

1/ Dictionary of American Biography, essay on "Nat Turner", vol. 19, pp. 69-70

2/ D. L. Dumond, "The Mississippi: Valley of Decision", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 36, No. 1, June 1949, p. 10

3/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 245

shock many of Senator Campbell's constituents. Just three years before, his state had brazenly "nullified" the United States Tariff Act. It is no wonder that mob rule was a gruff hand-maiden of slavocracy in those tumultuous years.

During this period, a gang invaded the Charleston, South Carolina, post office and seized and destroyed a quantity of a publication called "The Emancipator." Former U. S. Senator, and also ex-Mayor of Charleston, Robert Y. Hayne, he who had debated Daniel Webster on nullification a few short years before, called together a "Committee of 21" which took the law into its own hands. It resolved to meet the mail boat arriving from New York and remove all "seditious" publications from the United States mail pouches. The committee even persuaded the New York City Postmaster to refuse to accept such matter for mailing. 1/

Also in 1835, Dr. Reuben Crandall was jailed in the District of Columbia for being an Abolitionist. It seems he was found with objectionable literature in his possession. 2/

John C. Calhoun, elder statesman of the South, set

1/ D. L. Dumond, "The Mississippi: Valley of Decision", Mississippi Valley Historial Review, vol. 36, No. 1, June, 1949, p. 10

2/ Ibid, p. 11

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the unofficial, but nevertheless binding, philosophical standard for his followers when he enunciated his famous Resolution of 1837. This statement opposed the right of any citizen, anywhere in the United States, to discuss the slavery question. Calhoun argued that "the peculiar institution" was sanctioned by the Constitution, and to question its righteousness was to violate the moral obligation of the compact with the Founding Fathers. 1/

4. The Slavery Issue Crystallizes

During the 1840's, the issues connected with slavery began to crystallize. The Texas question, the fight over the Oregon Territory and other matters relating to the extension of slavery brought the subject to a boil. National hysteria rose proportionally. By 1850, the South had begun to speak less guardedly of secession, and the possibility of civil war was no longer taken lightly.

Angry hordes patrolled the border areas from Maryland to Missouri; Kansas was invaded by "unoffical armies" from Missouri in a war that lasted five years. In its wanton disregard of liberty and human life, this fracas foreshadowed the yet more bloody conflict then almost at hand.

1/ D. L. Dumond, "The Mississippi: Valley of Decision", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 36, No. 1, June, 1949, p. 11

Mob violence even entered the hall of Congress. During the debates on "bleeding Kansas", Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, was assaulted with a heavy cane by Senator Preston Brooks, his "colleague" from South Carolina. The act was not exactly chivalrous, for Sumner, wedged in between his chair and his desk, could not defend himself. Gallant South Carolinians overlooked this and sponsored a banquet in honor of Senator Brooks. They also gave him a new cane bearing the words: "Use knockdown arguments." 1/

This incident epitomized the temper of the mob hysteria rampant in the South. For that matter, the blazing defiance with which the Dred Scott decision was greeted above the Mason-Dixon Line indicated that the North was no more inclined to seek a peaceable solution. There was no turning back on the road to secession and civil war. On April 12, 1861, Fort Sumter was fired upon. It marked the last time that slavocracy called the tune which ended as it began, on a note of violence.

Slavery was constitutionally proscribed in 1865. This decision was accepted by all but die-hard extremists. While the moral issue was laid to rest, the employment of mob

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1/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization II, p. 27

psychology, by which the now defunct slavocracy had eliminated internal dissent, set up a pattern of community conduct. This community attitude has hampered subsequent efforts to seek democratic solutions to the many weighty economic, political, and social problems of Reconstruction confronting the South in the post-Civil War era.

PART IV

APPENDIX

F. Source Material -- Reconstruction and the Ku-Klux Klan, 1865-1877

1. The Search for an Effective Policy F

The excesses of the Reconstruction period -- the "Tragic Era", said historian Claude G. Bowers -- cannot be blamed exclusively on either the North or the South.

On the one hand, the ink at Appomattox had not even dried before a number of the Southern States proceeded to enact vagrancy, apprenticeship, and forced labor laws which all but returned the Negro to bondage. An extraordinary and very perilous state of affairs had been created in the South by the sudden and absolute emancipation of the Negroes. It was not strange that the State Legislatures should deem it necessary to take extraordinary steps to guard against incipient anarchy.

Here was a vast laboring, landless, homeless class of people, once slaves, now free. They were "unpracticed in liberty, unschooled in self-control; never sobered by the discipline of self-support, never established in the habit of prudence; excited by a freedom they did not understand, exalted by false hopes; bewildered and without leaders", yet

the Negroes were "insolent and aggressive; sick of work, covetous of pleasures." They were "a host of dusky children untimely put out of school." 1/

On the other hand, the revenge-seeking Northern radicals, spurred by Thaddeus Stevens, chafed while President Andrew Johnson pursued a policy of comparative moderation toward the South. They reacted sharply to the legislation in the South which seemed to be heading in the direction of a re-establishment of the pre-war status quo. Righteous indignation characterized their oratory on the floor of Congress. Superficially, the logic of their arguments, as in all demagoguery, rang true. The North, now completely dominating the Federal Government, moved over toward an extremist view of Reconstruction.

2. The "Radicals" Take Control

Sensing their new-found power, the congressional "radicals" abandoned all caution. They over-rode the President with impunity, finally impeached him, and failed to convict him by only one vote. President Andrew Johnson, whose executive power was all but negated for the remainder of his sorry Administration, stood helplessly by while the Republican Party swept aside all counsel of moderation

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1/ Woodrow Wilson, The Reconstruction of the Southern States, "Atlantic Monthly", vol. LXXXVII, January, 1901, p. 6

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and mercy and proceeded to place the South under military rule. Ostensibly, this military dictatorship was imposed to protect the political rights recently bestowed upon the Negro in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

In effect, the "Rule of the Major Generals" disenfranchised most of the white Southerners and condoned the outrageous plundering of State Treasuries by the bewildered blacks under the urging of their nefarious "carpet-bagger" and "scalawag" mentors.

3. The Rise of the Ku-Klux Klan

One excellent account of the immediate repressive effects of military "reconstruction", a direct contributor to the rise of the Ku-Klux Klan, states:

> "Any attempt to favor the Confederate soldiers was frowned upon. Laws providing wooden legs and free education for crippled Confederates were suspended. Militia organizations and military schools were forbidden. No uniform might be worn, no parades were permitted, no memorial and historical societies were to be organized, and no meeting of any kind could be held without a permit. The attempt to control the press resulted in what one general [a Union enforcement officer] called 'a horrible uproar.' Editors were forbidden to express themselves too strongly against reconstruction; public advertising and printing were awarded only to those papers actively supporting reconstruction. Several newspapers were suppressed, a notable example being the Tuscaloosa Independent Monitor, whose editor, Ryland Randolph, was a picturesque figure in Alabama journalism and a leader in the Ku-Klux Klan." 1/

1/ Stephenson and Fleming, The Confederacy and Reconstruction, p. 146

It is not surprising, then, that the South decided to fight fire with fire. Most Southerners, though weary of bloodshed and armed terror, welcomed the alternative offered by the Ku-Klux Klan. The medicine was made palatable by the coating of "white supremacy", a needed psychological boost to sagging spirits.

The Klan, organized in 1866, derived its name from the Greek "Kuklos," meaning a band or circle. The word "Klan" was added for alliterative effect. 1/

According to another account, the young men who had joined the club as an outlet for their unemployed energies "made a raid upon Mrs. Martin's 2/ linen closet, robed themselves in boyish glee in her stiff linen sheets and pillow cases" and went out in the street, mounted sheeted horses and rode through the night. It was an amusing lark to them, but struck terror among the neighborhood Negroes, who thought they had seen ghosts, "and had with haste gone back to their former masters, only too willing to work" the next day. 3/

The significance of this development was hardly lost upon the Ku-Kluxers, and it was not long before thousands

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1/ S. F. Horn, Invisible Empire, p. 13
2/ Mrs. Martin was mistress of the house where "the young men" first met.
3/ S. L. Davis, The Ku Klux Klan, p. 7

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of white Southerners were flocking to the hooded bands.

The attention of the country at large was first focused on the Ku-Klux Klan by President Grant's special message to Congress on December 5, 1870. The President publicly recounted the urgent request of Governor Holden, who claimed that the Klan had thrown North Carolina into a constant state of terror.

Actually, the Klan had officially gone out of business in 1869, its task well accomplished. Unfortunately, the rioting and disorder which it had unleashed could not be turned off with just a simple disbanding order. The new-style reign of terror continued in the South and had to run its course. 1/

Following this message, President Grant submitted information to the Congress on January 13, 1871, "in which he listed nearly 5,000 alleged disorders, outrages and homicides in North Carolina and elsewhere." 2/

4. Efforts to Control the Klan Fail.

A Joint Select Committee, including members of both houses of Congress, was appointed to investigate the Ku-Klux Klan. Not much came of this investigation, which degenerated into a partisan squabble. The thirteen

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1/ Morison and Commager, Growth of the American Republic, p. 53
2/ S. F. Horn, The Invisible Empire, p. 295

Republican members diligently sought to establish from the witnesses the fact that the Klan was a political organization, composed exclusively of Democrats, and designed primarily for the persecution of Republicans, especially Negro voters. The eight Democrats were just as vehement in support of the thesis that the Klan had no political purposes whatever, but "operated entirely as a widespread vigilance committee for the preservation of law and order." 1/

As a result of the Congressional investigation, the so-called Force Acts and the Ku-Klux Act of 1871 were passed authorizing the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and to suppress disturbances, by military force if necessary. Actually, some 7,373 indictments were found under these acts, but there were relatively few convictions. 2/

The reason lay in the law enforcement machinery in the South. If a dilatory Sheriff succeeded in catching the perpetrators of an outrage, the judge or jury would find for the defendant and the case would be dismissed. Most of the time, cases never reached the indictment stage.

One case was cited by Senator John Sherman of Ohio, in a speech delivered in the upper chamber on March 18, 1871. It seems that one Judge Settle, of Rockingham County, North

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1/ S. F. Horn, The Invisible Empire, pp. 297-9
2/ Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, p. 53

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Carolina, reported that a conscientious country coroner investigating the murder of a colored woman was unable to continue the case when "he found that the father of the accused was foreman of the jury." 1/

5. Decline of the Klan in Direct Proportion to Resumption of White Control of the Southern States

The Ku-Klux Klan began to decline in direct proportion with the recapture of the Southern State Governments by the whites. By 1875, only South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida remained under "carpet-bagger" control. By this time, most of the ardent Ku-Kluxers had drifted away from the order.

Some 80 years have passed since the processes of Reconstruction were finished, and the Southern States restored to their place in the Union. Reconstruction has long since been handed over to the historians. "Statesmen" who were responsible for Reconstruction long ago laid it aside as finished. It is, therefore, the historians' vexation to analyze the intellectual and moral difficulties which confronted the men who had to deal with the problem.

Needless to say, there has been no unanimity of conclusion among the experts, who, like their political forbears, are unable to dissociate partisan feelings from their intellectual pursuit of a cool, dispassionate interpretation of this hectic era.

1/ John Sherman, speech, "Ku Klux Outrages", (Published by Rives and Bailey, Washington, D. C., 1871), p.7

For example, Professor W. L. Fleming, a Southerner with a reputation for historical accuracy, had this to say about the Klansmen, whom he viewed as unofficial but vital to law enforcement:

> "As bodies of vigilantes, they regulated the conduct of bad negroes, punished criminals who were not punished by the State, looked after the activities and teachings of Northern preachers and teachers, dispersed hostile gatherings of negroes, and ran out of the community the worst of the reconstructionist officials." 1/

On the other hand, Professors Morison and Commager of Harvard and Columbia Universities, respectively, state that "there can be no doubt that the Klan and other societies pledged to the maintenance of white supremacy were guilty of many crimes, and that all too often secrecy became a cloak for lawlessness and oppression directed against whites as well as against negroes." 2/

Charles A. Beard is a little sharper in providing motivation when he states that the Klan, "by warnings, nocturnal visits, impressive parades in white hoods, and other methods, sometimes including murderous violence, managed to frighten great masses of the colored voters away from the polls, in spite of Federal protection there. Very

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1/ W. L. Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox, p. 258
2/ Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, p. 53

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generally, the freedman into whose hands the ballot had been thrust by the Republican victors did not care to risk his head in exercising his political rights . . ." 1/

When Rutherford B. Hayes was inaugurated President in 1877, the "carpet-bag" regime had been overthrown in every Southern State except Louisiana and South Carolina, where it was still being upheld by Federal Bayonets. Shortly afterwards, President Hayes withdrew the remaining troops. The political vacuum did not remain for long. The Southerners re-established control of the State Governments and legalized the disenfranchisement of the Negroes which had previously been accomplished by terror.

6. Reconstruction Left Deep Scars

Although the animosities of slavery, and even "Reconstruction" itself, were soon put aside and forgotten, the South was left with deep physical and moral scars. Politics was forced into an unnatural racial groove, and allegiance to the Democratic Party became synonymous with white supremacy. Three-quarters of a century later finds little change in the unity of the South on this subject.

Woodrow Wilson once wrote on "Reconstruction" in the role of historian. What he said almost a half century ago

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1/ Charles A. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, II, vol. II, p. 300

still has more than academic substance at this late date:

> "Reconstruction is still revolutionary matter. Those who delve in it find it like a banked fire, still hot and fiery within, for all it has lain under the ashes a whole generation; and a thing to take fire from. . ." 1/

It may be argued that, in this day and age, "Reconstruction" itself is a dead issue. However, the Ku-Klux Klan, its ghastly progeny, is still very much alive in many parts of the Nation.

The Ku-Klux system of regulating society is as old as history. The 173 years of our organized existence are replete with instances of resort to vigilante rule. When people have found or imagined themselves challenged by an alien force or idea protected under legal forms, they have invented some means outside the law for opposing this intruder. Inevitably, such experiences have resulted in the weakening of respect for law, and have spurred a return to more primitive methods of justice.

The yet active propensity in the South to seek solutions to community problems in mob rule, hooded terror or some variant of both under the banner of "white supremacy" is evidence that the fire of "Reconstruction", in the larger sense, is still "banked" and not "out."

1/ Woodrow Wilson, The Reconstruction of the Southern States, "Atlantic Monthly", January, 1901, vol. LXXXVII, p. 1

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PART IV

APPENDIX

G. Source Material -- World War I, "A Holy Crusade for Liberty", 1914-18

1. Hysteria Is Universal

The period 1914-18 was characterized by a surge of general hysteria which equalled any previous or subsequent outbreak of mass passions. The occasion of our declaration of war against Germany was the signal for mass outbreaks fed by innumerable well-springs of hate. For a variety of reasons countless ordinary citizens sought to avenge themselves on personal enemies by denouncing them to the police as German sympathizers. As in Salem 200 years before, the mass hysteria was largely the work of petty and spiteful "Putnams" 1/ deliberately spreading false tales for their own selfish purposes.

No aspect of our National life was overlooked in this repression, a campaign condoned and encouraged by the Government itself. On June 15, 1917, Congress adopted an Espionage Act which provided severe penalties for wilful attempts to

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1/ The reference is to Ann Putnam, one of the instigators of the Salem witch trials. Her name is generically associated with the social phenomenon of "witch-hunting."

obstruct recruiting or to "cause insubordination, disloyalty or refusal of duty" among the Armed Forces. It further gave the Postmaster General blanket authority to exclude from the mails all matter deemed seditious or treasonable.

A year later, on May 16, 1918, the law was strengthened by a Sedition Act which amplified the list of crimes, including among them abusive utterances, written or oral, about the Government, the Constitution, or the flag. This was followed on October 16, 1918, by a third statute, which empowered the Secretary of Labor to deport, without jury trial, aliens who "believe in or advocate" the forcible overthrow of the Government, or who advocate the unlawful destruction of property, or who belong to organizations holding such views.

These measures were assailed as infringements on the rights of free speech and press by a non-conforming minority. It was freely charged that they outdid the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 in severity. 1/

More disturbing even than the legislation against sedition was the unofficial "witch-hunting" which engaged the energy of sundry "old ladies" of both sexes. Here was a

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1/ A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the U. S., p. 533

great opportunity to bring patriotism to the aid of personal grudges and neighborhood feuds. The independent-minded, and often intelligent citizen, who had been known as a "Tory" in the Revolution, a "Jacobin" in 1798, a "Copperhead" during the Civil War, became a "pro-German traitor" in 1917, and was lucky if he did not have disjointed and garbled scraps of his conversation sent in to the Department of Justice, or flashes from his shaving mirror reported as signals to German submarines.

The German-Americans, of course, had the worst experiences of this sort. Many of them were opposed to our entry into the war, but the vast majority were loyal to the United States and did their part as well as the native-born Americans. However, they were subjected to all sorts of indignities, and on many occasions this campaign bordered on a reign of terror. It manifested itself in many ways, the more significant of which will be discussed.

2. Restriction of Personal Freedom

The Federal Bureau of Investigation had been expanded many times its pre-war size. Its paid staff was implemented by several hundreds of thousands of private citizens who shamelessly sought to impeach the patriotism of their neighbors. To these volunteers no test of intelligence was

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applied; any person, man or woman, willing to play the role of informer was admitted to the fellowship.

Many innocent persons' names were dragged through the spotlight of publicity on the grounds of some unchecked report of an unpatriotic act. In many cases, this information was supplied by "patriotic" neighbors. Further help came from volunteer patriotic societies, including the National Security League, the All-Allied Anti-German League, the Sedition Slammers -- all of whom jumped with great glee and gusto into the campaign to blot out any vestige of German culture.

The limitation of personal freedoms took some queer turns:

a. Every attempt was made to remove Germanic influences from our culture. Thus, the playing of Wagner's music in concert halls ceased completely. Bach, being more distantly removed in time, was heard in performance, although less frequently than his music deserved. Of course, all "Germantown" Avenues, "Goethe" Streets, "Schiller" Halls, "Kaiserhof" Hotels, and "Beethoven" Societies disappeared.

One outstanding incident probably typified the public temper in this respect. Dr. Karl Muck, a

famous German conductor -- the Toscanini of his day -- was conducting the Boston Symphony. As the hysteria mounted, he was badgered to preface his concerts with a rendition of "The Star Spangled Banner." Muck, an iconoclast, refused to do so. He suggested that National Anthems were more fitting subjects for military bands than for philharmonic orchestras. His impropriety clearly indicated that his musicianship far exceeded his skills in the diplomatic field.

The upshot of it all was the unceremonious dumping of this distinguished artist in the Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, internment camp. He languished behind bars until war-end, when he was deported to Germany a disillusioned and broken man. 1/ Many offers were made Dr. Muck in 1922-23 to return to America, but no power on earth could drag him back, so embittered and hurt was he. 2/

Muck's case was not an isolated one. Fritz Kreisler discovered a sudden lack of demand for his services. On one occasion the Mayor of East Orange,

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1/ David Ewen, Man with the Baton, pp 143-59
2/ Current Biography, 1940, p. 605

New Jersey, would not permit Kreisler's scheduled concert to be performed. 1/

b. This phobia of things Germanic even carried over to the burning of books, including those of Heinrich Heine and the German pacifist school. Only once before had books been burned in the United States. In 1838, the indignant citizens of Lewistown, New York, made a bonfire of the works of Captain Frederick Maryat, an English writer, for having cast aspersions on American heroes in a speech at Toronto, Canada. 2/

Parenthetically, it might be added that in more recent times, the Nazis, with equal stupidity, showed their contempt for human knowledge in attempting to destroy it by fire.

c. Ironic overtones accompanied another outstanding example of the ill-considered campaign of repression, and as a result, a well-intentioned effort to aid in the prosecution of the war was thwarted. In Iowa, many persons of Czechoslovakian descent had organized to incite rebellion against the Austro-Hungarian dynasty among their friends and family still

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1/ Morison and Commager, Growth of American Republic, p. 479
2/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 360

in the old country, yet they encountered unreasoning opposition by the "Jelly bellied flag floppers" 1/ who objected to the conduct of these meetings in the Czechoslovakian tongue. Governor William L. Harding went right along with the super-patriots and issued an order that English was to be the only medium of instruction in schools, and that conversations in public places, on trains, or over the telephone should be in the English language. 2/

d. Foreign-born persons were not the only victims of this hysteria. Native-American skeptics were affected as well. Two boys in Madison, Wisconsin, one destined to become a Senator and the other a Governor, saw their father, Senator Robert M. LaFollette, burned in effigy. A resolution was offered in the upper chamber by Senator Kellogg to expel LaFollette. Fortunately, this ill-conceived suggestion failed to pass. 3/

e. Moral reformers saw in the general hysteria an opportunity to win a greater measure of popular support

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1/ With apologies to Rudyard Kipling.
2/ Morison and Commager, Growth of American Republic, p. 479
3/ New York Times, October 1, 1917, p. 12, col. 1

for their pet projects. Prohibitionist leaders, supported by official propaganda and the war-imposed dry law, convinced many people that brewers and bar-keepers were mostly pro-German. The path for the 18th Amendment was smoothed. 1/

f. Another incident is highly illuminating. In Philadelphia an intensive "witch-hunt" was precipitated by the remarks of Albert E. Staub, Director of the Atlantic Division of the American Red Cross, before a local chapter meeting. Mr. Staub had detected a "startling plot" to poison the bandages being sent overseas. As reported in a banner newspaper headline, "Red Cross Bandages Poisoned by Spies", he hysterically urged his listeners:

> "You women of Philadelphia must clean house. Go over the list of your members and make sure of the loyalty of every one. Under no circumstances allow any one in your board rooms unless you know who they are. . ." 2/

3. Restriction of Academic Freedom.

Under George Creel, Chairman of the Committee of Public Information, a vast corps of "four minute speakers" was recruited to assure that the bright fires of patriotism were

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1/ New York Times, November 9, 1917 (Speech by W. B. Wheeler, a leading "Dry" before Hoboken, New Jersey, Forum in favor of national prohibition).

2/ New York Times, March 29, 1917.

kept blazing in all the media of news dissemination. Under the aegis of the National Security League and the National Board of Historical Service, the most eminent scholars, some 2,500 of them, were "mustered" and set about the task of proving that the Germans were abominable beasts who had renounced Christianity and were bent on enslaving the world, and that all German culture, literature, music, science, engineering, and politics were nothing more than hellish instruments a pagan people had devised to wipe out civilization. 1/

University professors and instructors at Oregon, California, Nebraska, Minnesota, Michigan, etc., were dismissed because of open criticism of the war in some cases, and for lacking in "aggressive Americanism" in others. Some were even dismissed for having German names. Professor J. McKeen Cattell, a Columbia University professor for 26 years, was dismissed for writing to a Congressman against conscription. 2/ Professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, grandson of the poet, met the same fate as his colleague when he expressed similar sentiments -- "despite warning by Dr.

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 356
2/ New York Times, October 2-3, 1917

Nicholas Murray Butler." 1/

The American Association of University Professors, founded in 1915 to combat any despotic attempts to deny academic freedom, issued a learned and persuasive statement justifying the dismissals which had occurred. 2/

In the concoction of hate, college professors were among the leading contributors. One of the typical examples, a rather shocking one considering the previously unquestioned scholarship of the source, is the statement of Dr. Vernon Kellogg, well-known Stanford University professor, and later head of the National Institute of Science:

> "Will it be any wonder if, after the war, the people of the world, when they recognize any human being as German, will shrink aside so that they may not touch him as he passes, or will stoop for stones to drive him from their path?" 3/

Common sense and reason were not, however, universally swept aside. Among the few to express themselves against the tide of hysterical opinion were philosopher John Dewey of Columbia University, Charles A. Beard, the famous

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1/ New York Times, October 2-3, 1917
2/ It should be mentioned that the American Association of University Professors has taken a staunch stand in 1949 in support of harried professors.
3/ Mark Sullivan, Our Times, vol. V, p. 468.

historian, and President Lowell of Harvard. 1/

4. Restriction of Religious Freedom

Energetic as were some of the "patriotic" scholars to edit the facts of history to conform to the contemporary vogue, they were fairly restrained as compared with many of America's men of the cloth. Some, including John Haynes Holmes and Jenkin Lloyd Jones, spoke against this mob hysteria, although "virtually all the rest bawled lustily for German blood." 2/ There are all sorts of instances of wild statements hardly befitting "men of God." One startling anecdote concerned the Reverend Howard Ganster, rector of Christ Episcopal Church at Waukegan, Illinois, who proposed the organization of a society for the committing of murder of persons who do not stand up, or who leave the building, when "The Star Spangled Banner" is played. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, pastor of the Central Congregational Church, Brooklyn, took the opportunity of directing anti-German bias at

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1/ According to Professor Henry A. Yeomans' biography of Lowell, the press had reported that a certain Harvard man had threatened to annul a bequest of $10,000,000 to the University unless Professor Hugo Munsterberg, a pro-German, was dismissed, whereupon Professor Munsterberg offered to resign if the graduate would immediately remit $5,000,000 to the University. President Lowell refused to accept the resignation and authorized one of the University's rare public announcements that it "cannot tolerate any suggestion that it would be willing to accept money to abridge free speech, remove a professor or to accept his resignation."

2/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 357

the Luthern Church in Germany, which he termed "not the bride of Christ, but the paramour of Kaiserism." 1/

Again, Governor Harding of Iowa was involved in this campaign of repression, this time in the realm of religion. He ordered the use of none but the English language in church services, and recommended this typical solution:

> "...Let those who cannot speak or understand the English language conduct their religious worship in their homes." 2/

Generally, most religious fundamentalists used the criminal militarism of Prussia as their prize exhibit of the effect of Darwinism, with the result that in some sections it became little short of treason to express belief in evolution.

5. Restriction of the Rights of Labor

Employers and business men, under the protective coloring of patriotism, continued their private vendetta against labor. Efforts were made to identify all of labor with the militant I.W.W. One account indicates some of the extremes to which super-patriots went:

1/ Mark Sullivan, Our Times, vol. V, p. 467
2/ New York Times, June 18, 1918, p. 12, col. 6

> "Workers were beaten by their fellows when by phrase or gesture they betrayed something less than fanatical devotion to the new American freedom. In Seattle, patriotic laborers in a shipyard kept on hand an iron pipe, 'which is called the Liberty Rail....When a workman utters a disloyal sentiment, fails to buy bonds or war-savings stamps, or in other ways proves he is lukewarm, the Rail Committee waits on him. The Liberty Rail is heated on the forge and the disloyal workman is ridden about the yards on the hot rail.'" 1/

Another account indicates that in the north central states, certain merchants almost succeeded in having membership in the Nonpartisan League, a farmers' organization, declared prima facie evidence of criminal sedition. 2/

It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which a National effort was directed to extirpate every semblance of Teutonic nomenclature. Much of it was of a voluntary nature. People wished to assure their neighbors that they were not tainted with the slightest hue of pro-German sentiment. They volunteered all sorts of outlandish suggestions which had rather amusing consequences. Not the least of these was the taboo placed upon sauerkraut and the dachshund, both quite inoffensive. Americans did not stop eating sauerkraut, despite its German origin, but to save

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 361
2/ Dictionary of American History, vol. IV, p. 140

themselves from its subversive influence, they called it "liberty cabbage." The dachshund was rechristened the "liberty pup." About the height of foolishness was reached by Cincinnati, which banned pretzels from free-lunch counters in the local saloons.

Mark Sullivan has caught the spirit of the times in his admirable comment:

> "The spectacle of actual danger guarded against gave rise of grotesque mare's nests. It became a hysteria. Whispers predicted, or asserted as actually having happened, armed uprisings in Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other German-American centres. Trifling epidemics of diarrhea proved that German spies had put germs in the local water supply. An individual illness unduly prolonged was related to the German name of the apothecary who made up the prescription. Failure of a cut in a child's hand to heal quickly was due to germs placed in the courtplaster supplied by German agents. Any interruption of the flow of munitions from a factory was due to a German sabotageur (sic) who had tampered with an essential mechanism." 1/

Statistically, the results obtained by prosecution of alleged espionage and sedition according to "due process of law" do not justify, to any extent, the all-pervasive "witch-hunt" which was carried out during the 1917-18 period. Under the wartime laws against the aforementioned crimes,

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1/ Mark Sullivan, Our Times, vol. V, p. 471.

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passed on June 15, 1917, and amended May 16, 1918, some 1,532 persons were arrested for disloyal utterances, 65 for threats against the President, and 10 for sabotage. Bill Haywood and 94 other "Wobblies" were given prison sentences and 2 prominent Socialists were sentenced to prison terms, including Eugene V. Debs for his opposition to conscription. 1/

Afterwards, Federal Judge George W. Anderson, of Boston, a United States Attorney from November 1914 to October 1917, who had been closely connected with the prosecution of persons accused of disloyalty and espionage, was quoted as having said:

> "Now I assert as my best judgment grounded on the information I can get, that more than 99 percent of the advertised and reported pro-German plots never existed; I think it is time publicity was given this view." 2/

Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth said:

> "I personally know of not a single case /of espionage/ in which anything was proved." 3/

6. Conclusions

a. President Wilson Blamed for Excesses.

1/ Mark Sullivan, Our Times, vol. V, pp. 471-2
2/ "The Red Hysteria", New Republic, vol. XXI, (January 28, 1920), p. 251
3/ Mark Sullivan, op cit, vol. IV, pp. 472-3

It is uncertain whether President Wilson understood all the terrible implications of the general hysteria which swept the whole Nation along in its frenzied path. Certainly, the liberal author of "The New Freedom" was acutely aware that to exterminate all Germanic cultural influence from our National existence was not even distantly related to the main task of winning the war. In fact, the evidence is quite clear that the President made an intellectual differentiation between the German Government and the German people. In his address to Congress on April 2, 1917, urging a declaration of war, he said:

> "We would fight the system which menaced these things. /America holds dear/ We would not fight the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship." 1/

The next day a typical banner headline, "The President Calls for War without Hate", blanketed the country. 2/

Somehow, though, this attitude failed to gravitate from the policy-making to the operational levels of the Government. The Nation-wide program of repression of every last vestige of German culture indicates that this policy was officially condoned and even spurred on.

1/ Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters, vol. 6, p. 512
2/ New York Tribune, April 3, 1917, p. 1

Some historians have taken President Wilson to task for not having used the prestige of his high office to curb the sweeping abridgment of constitutional liberties during the war. It has been pointed out that, in 1917, there was not the slightest sign of an organized rebellion or disaffection by large sections of the population with the general objectives of the war. Not all the work of the Department of Justice and its huge host of private informers could discover one. 1/

The fact remains that the nearest enemy force was 3,000 miles away, and that even France and England, dealing with an enemy inside their gates or threatening just across a narrow channel of water, allowed more freedom than was granted to American citizens. For that matter, it may be argued that Germany, despised military autocracy that it was, tolerated more criticism in the press and opposition from dissenters than Democratic America did. For example, Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist, was permitted to preach not only peace but revolution on the floor of the Reichstag from 1914 to 1916 while Germany was at war. 2/

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 365

2/ Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 14, p. 39. It should be added, though, that Liebknecht served a two-year prison term, 1916-18, for a non-privileged utterance against the war to some troops passing through Berlin's Potsdamer Platz.

There are American precedents which also can be cited to challenge the necessity for the extreme measures taken during the Wilson Administration which precipitated and condoned mob action bordering on National insanity:

First, in the War of 1812, President Madison did not find it necessary to abrogate the Bill of Rights in any particular, though he had to fight an invading Army actually on American soil. He relected upon this later, saying:

> "Whilst other portions of mankind are laboring under the distresses of war or struggling with adversity in other forms, the United States are in the tranquil enjoyment of prosperous and honorable peace. In reviewing the scenes through which it has been attained we can rejoice in the proofs given that our political institutions, founded in human rights and framed for their preservation, are equal to the severest trials of war as well as adapted to the ordinary periods of repose." 1/

Second, President Lincoln, confronted with a third of the Nation in a state of armed rebellion, did not go quite as far as President Wilson, although Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and in effect put the Nation under a military dictatorship. Few historians would question the propriety of Lincoln's action

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1/ James Madison, "Seventh Annual Message to Congress", December 5, 1815, Writings, 1808-19, vol. 8, p. 343.

taken to save the Union, or the statement that the dangers confronting Presidents Wilson and Lincoln were hardly comparable.

b. In World War II, We Profited from the Lessons Learned in World War I.

It may be said in America's favor that it profited from the lessons of World War I, although many leaders, shocked at the excesses which were tolerated in the name of liberty, felt that we were approaching the brink of a regimented society, and that Democracy could never withstand another major shock.

Charles Evans Hughes, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was one of the liberals who expressed himself in this way. In an address before the Harvard Law Alumni in 1920, he said:

> "We may well wonder, in view of the precedents now established, whether constitutional government as heretofore maintained in this republic could ever survive another great war even victoriously waged." 1/

Mr. Justice Hughes' measured language is well taken, although his prediction was not borne out. Perhaps our experience in World War I warned us clear of these pitfalls. Under the skillful guidance of President Franklin D.

1/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization, vol. II p. 671.

Roosevelt the issues of World War II were more sharply drawn than they had been under President Woodrow Wilson. During the recent war, the Government continued to hammer away at the distinction between the German people and their Nazi masters. It was made plain that our quarrel was with the Axis Governments, seeking to impose their particularly repugnant ideologies upon the world, rather than with their hapless peoples. We felt that with proper guidance they could be brought back into the Democratic fold.

It is true that America exhibited certain manifestations of mob hysteria during the recent war. The mass relocation of the people of Japanese extraction on the West Coast following the Pearl Harbor attack is the best example. Yet, for the most part we aggressively conducted the combat war on the battle front and the ideological war on the home front with an almost absolute minimum deprivation of personal freedom. In fact, the anti-Japanese regulations were relaxed toward the end of the war, and the wide publicity given to the all-Japanese 442d Regimental Combat Team's exploits in the war served to apologize for our momentary lapse. 1/

1/ Private First Class Sadao S. Munemori, 442d Regimental Combat Team, won a Congressional Medal of Honor.

Unquestionably, the anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States was greatly ameliorated thereby.

Generally, this was the pattern of World War II, although unfortunate examples of intolerance have cropped up to show that we are human in our sometimes tepid adherence to the principles of the Bill of Rights, even where it entails sacrifice of personal opinion on our part.

The recent cases of Walter Gieseking and Kirsten Flagstad being refused permission to perform in New York City on the grounds that they had been Nazi sympathizers during the war, and also the public clamor which arose when it was announced that Wilhelm von Mengelberg, the famous Dutch conductor, would perform in Chicago, serve to remind us that our World War II record of tolerance is not crystal clear. 1/

1/ While these incidents occurred after V-J Day, they are more closely associated with the war-time state of mind than with the post-World War II era. They are the culmination of a war-time pledge by several artistic groups that if Gieseking and Flagstad ever returned to this country, things would be made decidely hot for them.

PART IV

APPENDIX

H. Source Material -- Post-World War I Hysteria, 1919-1929

1. The Red Menace

In November, 1918, the Bolshevik Party of Russia seized power and sought to put into practice the Socialist theories of Karl Marx and Freidrich Engels, a philosophy which marched under a Red banner of Communism.

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Not unrelated to this action in the immediate post-war period, was the short, but sharp depression, a natural concomitant of the reconversion period. Jobs were scarce and returning veterans were rapidly becoming disillusioned with the condition of things.

A wave of strikes broke out, capped by a general strike in the steel industry. Like most other strikes at this time, this dreaded general strike was broken partly through the intervention of local officials and the Federal Government.

The gravity of the immediate post-war situation was apparent in the alarmed tones of Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, who estimated that between five and six million were without work. "We were", he said later, "in the throes of

one of the greatest industrial depressions we had ever known." 1/

In 1921, the strikes of the previous two years were succeeded by disorders arising out of the increasing unemployment. Much of the blame fell upon the "Reds." Unquestionably, some of the strikes and violences connected with labor unrest had their origin in the revolutionary I.W.W. and other radical organizations more concerned with overthrowing Capitalism than improving the immediate lot of the proletariat. However, they were blamed for all of them. 2/

It was easy to do this. Most radicals, always regarded with repugnance by the average American, were, in the immediate post-war period, looked upon with more than ordinary dislike. Violence on their part, whether by act or word, provoked immediate counter-violence, sometimes by individuals, often by such organizations as the American Legion and later by the Ku-Klux Klan.

The Government also harried radicals and suspected radicals. There is a good bit of evidence to support the charges that the United States Government aided in spirit and action all manner of "Red-baiting." This campaign

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1/ Mark Sullivan, Our Times, vol. VI, p. 167
2/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, pp. 48-9

was allegedly launched to divert attention from the potentially explosive nature of contemporary economic conditions to the doings of a minority of radicals. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer forthwith charged them with attempting to undermine the State. 1/

2. Repression of Personal Freedom, Case Histories

a. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer authorized a large number of raids and mass arrests seeking to ferret out disloyalty and to deport aliens whose loyalty was suspect. The appropriate "incident" which precipitated this "witch-hunt" occurred in April, 1919. A score of bombs, all individually boxed in "Gimbel Brothers" wrappers, were found in the mails addressed to leading men of the country. Among them was one bomb addressed to "The Fighting Quaker", as Mr. Palmer liked to be called. When this plot was nipped before it could get underway, someone threw a bomb which blew the porch off Mr. Palmer's house and killed the thrower. It was later revealed that a copy of "Plain Words", a "radical" publication was found near the dead man. 2/

This skimpy evidence was used to document a current impression painstakingly detailed by the press that the

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1/ Morison and Commager, Growth of the American Republic, p. 559

2/ George Seldes, Witch Hunt, p. 36

culprit must have been a "radical", and that most Communists were wild-eyed creatures with horn-rimmed glasses, generally of slovenly dress, carrying a stick of dynamite in one hand and a copy of Marx's "Communist Manifesto" in the other.

The fevered public imagination, conditioned during the war by George Creel to believe anything and especially to believe the worst of anyone who was not a vociferous patriot, had little difficulty in stretching modest estimates of the number of "radicals" abroad in America into millions.

b. In the great hysteria of 1919, many statements were made to the effect that a million "Reds" were abroad in America. It has been recalled about Attorney General Palmer that "he was reminding the 20 million owners of Liberty Bonds, the 9 million farm owners, and the 11 million owners of savings accounts, that the "Reds" proposed to take away all they had. He was distributing boiler-plate propaganda to the press, containing pictures of horrid-looking Bolsheviks bristling with beards, and asking if such as these should rule over America." 1/

These sweeping claims were not borne out by a subsequently conducted investigation by the United States

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1/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 58

Government. In fact, it was revealed that but 30,000 persons were classified as "undesirable." Of these, only a handful were subject to deportation. On December 21, 1919, the well-publicized S. S. Buford -- tabbed the "Soviet Ark" -- sailed for Europe with but 246 men and 3 women aboard.

Mr. Palmer, undaunted by these modest disclosures, unilaterally revised the 1903 law excluding alien anarchists without the sanction of the courts or Congress, and in the Turner Case he established a precedent for deporting unnaturalized residents without court trial. 1/

c. On New Years Day, 1920, Government agents, under Palmer's leadership, swooped down on hundreds of "radical meetings", many of which had been arranged by "agents provocateurs." Aliens and citizens alike were taken in the dragnet, placed under arrest without warrant or any constitutional sanction, hauled off to jail, and held incommunicado and without bail. Palmer, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination some months hence, wished to remain in the public eye, and succeeded. 2/

In all, over 6,000 persons were arrested. The

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 371
2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization II, p. 670

press was filled with reports that the Department of Justice had uncovered a great conspiracy against the Government. It was stated as fact, for example, that a considerable quantity of bombs had been found in New Jersey. This report was later found to be untrue -- exactly three pistols were uncovered, and no explosives. 1/

d. Typical of mounting popular feeling was the case of one Frank Petroni, a naturalized citizen, whose patriotic emotion had led him to shoot and kill one Frank Petrich, alien, for allegedly yelling "To hell with the United States." The jury at Hammond, Indiana, acquitted Petroni on February 20, 1919. 2/

e. Congress did its part by twice denying Victor Berger (a Socialist) the seat in the House of Representatives to which he had been legally elected by the citizens of Milwaukee. 3/ Also many of the liberty-curbing laws enacted during the war were kept in force. By a narrow margin was Congress restrained from passing a permanent sedition law far more drastic than that adopted during the war. Senator

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, pp. 372-3
2/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 44
3/ A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, A History of American Life, p. 89

Robert M. LaFollette, already under heavy attack for having espoused unpopular causes during the war, was subjected to further abuse.

The Senator had suggested on the floor of the Senate on January 7, 1919, that the A.E.F., now bogged down in Siberia, be withdrawn. Although similar recommendations by military and civil authorities were being made at the same time, LaFollette's motives were suspect. He was accused of being the Bolshevik spokesman in America. 1/

f. Postmaster General A. R. Burleson set himself up as an arbitrary judge over the press through his control of the mails. 2/ For example, he closed the "Seattle Union Record" for anti-American Legion statements; kept the New York "Call" (Socialist Paper) out of the mails for over a year; told a District of Columbia court that his action in the New York "Call" case was not subject to court review; withdrew mailing privileges from "The Nation", "Freeman's Journal", the "Catholic Register," and other publications for various and sundry statements which ran counter to popular opinion and to which he personally objected; suppressed

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1/ New York Times, January 14, 1919, reported resolution offered by Senator H. Johnson; same publication, January 23, 1919, reported speech by Speaker B. C. Clark, both of which advocated withdrawal of American troops from Siberia.

2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization II, p. 670

one issue of the periodical "Masses", and then refused to admit subsequent issues to the mails on the ground that, not being regularly published, it was not a "periodical." 1/

g. State Legislatures were afflicted with the same fever, although their power was restricted. The most active in this regard was the Lusk Committee in New York which set itself to the task of rooting out "seditious activities" in the State.

The Lusk Committee instigated a raid on the Rand School in New York which was good for a number of scare headlines. It was instrumental in barring five Socialist members of the State Assembly elected in 1919.

This arbitrary action evoked considerable criticism among conservatives, including Charles Evans Hughes, who agreed to defend these men in a hearing granted by the Legislature. 2/ In a ringing protest, Mr. Hughes asserted:

> "This is not, in my judgment, American Government. . . I count it a most serious mistake to proceed not against individuals charged with violation of law, but against masses of our citizens combined for political action, by denying them the only resource of peaceful Government; that is action by the ballot box and through duly elected representatives in legislative bodies." 3/

1/ Zechariah Chafee, Freedom of Speech, (New York 1920) p. 107
2/ Literary Digest, LXIV, January 24, 1920, pp. 19-20
3/ A. M. Schlesinger, Political and Social History of the U. S., p. 535; also New York Times, January 10, 1920

Although Hughes' plea was unavailing and the decision to expel the Socialists was upheld by a majority of the Legislature, many people were shocked into a realization of the serious consequences of the drift of events.

3. Repression of Academic Freedom, Case Histories

a. A number of journalists and patriotic pedagogues made headlines with statements that the universities of the country were turning out "400,000 Reds every year." Thereupon ensued a "witch-hunt" among the members of the teaching profession.

b. The Lusk Committee in New York sponsored several laws providing for the strict control of every private school, excepting parochial schools, and an oath of loyalty from every teacher on the public payroll. These bills were vetoed by Governor Al Smith, but at the next session were repassed and approved by Governor Miller. Incidentally, the liberal Al Smith was not entirely immune to the "Red scare." On May 7, 1919, he signed a bill forbidding the display of Red flags in New York State. 1/ In all fairness, however, it should be stated that Governor Smith generally exerted his influence against the unreasoning

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1/ New York Times, May 8, 1919, p. 3, col. 2

hysteria which governed the actions of most of his fellow officials.

c. Under pressure from patriotic societies the loyalty oath was adopted by twenty-five different States. Committees of inquiry were formed to pass judgments upon the loyalty of individual teachers. Every principal was required to report upon the opinions of every man and woman on the school staff. This was a constant and dangerous threat held over teachers who held unconventional views on any subject. Failure to conform to the ideas of the purists could bring down upon the head of the culprit the charge of "violation of oath of loyalty to country."

There was nothing more damning than something like this on a teacher's record. In Massachusetts, the teachers in one community were threatened with dismissal for expressing sympathy with a union organizer who had been driven out of town by a mob. In the South and West, village moralists used the loyalty oath as a club to coerce women teachers into conformity on moral as well as political conduct.

One observer brings up an interesting point about the Palmer-generated "witch-hunt" which has contemporary

significance with respect to current demands for loyalty oaths. He exposes it as a futile gesture because:

> "....it was plain that the radical bent on mischief would be only too glad to take the oath the better to conceal his purpose." 1/

4. Resurgence of the Ku-Klux Klan

Attorney General Palmer's "Red" scare of 1919-1920 receded before the advancing prosperity of the 1920's, yet it left its mark on the average American's respect for the rights of his neighbors. The wholesale rounding up of so-called "radicals", the "tolerating if not authorizing constant resort to the third degree, that is, the physical abuse of accused persons" by the Department of Justice, with "the high benediction" of the Wilson Administration, all these emphasized the Nation-wide lawlessness which pervaded the country. It is not surprising that this delirium showed itself in other ways. 2/

Psychologists tell us that you cannot turn a man's emotions on and off like a faucet. In this situation, the emotions of group loyalty and of hatred, expanded during war-time and then suddenly denied their intended

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1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 375
2/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization, II, p. 670

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expression, found a perverted release in the persecution not only of supposed radicals, but also of other elements which, to the dominant American group, the white Protestants, seemed alien or "un-American." 1/

The intolerance of those days had many faces. Almost inevitably it took the ugly countenance of flare-ups against the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic, three large minority groups.

The Ku-Klux Klan, adopted in name from its notorious post-Civil War predecessor, had been revived in 1915 by Colonel William J. Simmons. Its first five years were lean as the American people were not quite ready for it. Simmons was joined by one Edward Y. Clarke, a born salesman, whose previous efforts had been expended on blameless charitable fund-raising campaigns. In the tense post-war period the time was ripe for the Klan, and Clarke was aware of it when he got on the bandwagon. 2/

Under the guise of uniting "white male persons, native-born Gentile citizens of the United States, who owe no allegiance of any nature to any foreign government, nation,

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1/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 62
2/ E. H. Loucks, The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, p. 19

institution, sect, ruler;....whose morals are good, whose reputations and vocations are exemplary....to shield the sanctity of the home and the chastity of womanhood; to maintain forever white supremacy...." the Klan appealed to every latent low-order of prejudice abroad in America. 1/

Clarke realized the value of wide-spread publicity and set out to get it by any means possible. He did not have to try hard because "mysterious marchers in white robes and peaked hoods were a godsend" to the tabloid press and the rotogravure editors of the regular press. 2/

An enterprising newspaper photographer in Atlanta, Georgia, 3/ was the first to capitalize on the photographic possibilities of the Klan. According to one graphic account.

> "Matty tried to get Simmons and Clarke to pose. They refused. A secret order, was it? No faces - just cowls and robes and crosses? He had seen 'The Birth of a Nation' and knew his stuff. Off he went, rigged up his uniforms, hired 20 men, lit a couple of crosses, and turned on the Graflex. The picture sold like wildfire.... The New York Times played them up in its rotogravure section. No digs from any quarter...(And since Matty believed in hiring the cheapest labor possible) the first pictures of the Klan to be published in America were posed by 20 sons of Ham at two-bits a man." 4/

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 378
2/ E. H. Loucks, The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, p. 19
3/ One "Matty", not further identified.
4/ Ward Green, "Notes for the History of the Klan", American Mercury, January, 1929, vol. 5, p. 242

This was the colossal irony of the resurgence of the Ku-Klux Klan. The picture which gave them a much needed impetus to launch a campaign of violence and bigotry was posed by twenty Negroes.

In short order the Ku-Klux Klan began to branch out along the Mississippi Valley; overnight displayed surprising strength on the Pacific Coast and invaded New York, heretofore one of the better examples of the "melting pot" in action. "It flourished like the green bay tree." 1/

Clarke and Simmons had found that there was no reason why the brand of "Americanism" they were marketing could not be a good paying proposition as well. They began to sell memberships at ten dollars per head under the entrancing title of Kleagles. The country was divided into Realms headed by King Kleagles, and the Realms into Domains headed by Grand Goblins. Clarke himself became the Imperial Kleagle. The art of nomenclature reached its fantastic pinnacle in the title bestowed upon Colonel Simmons who became Imperial Wizard.

In 1921, there was an inconvenient investigation of the

1/ Morison and Commager, Growth of the American Republic, p. 558

Klan by the House of Representatives Rules Committee. It was brought about by sundry reports of tarrings and featherings and by disclosures of many of the Klan's secrets in the "New York World."

It had been reported that "43 tar and feather parties... were held in Texas during the six months prior to August, 1921," one victim being a white woman. In another case the initials "KKK" had been branded on the forehead of a Negro bellboy. In Missouri, a 60 year old farmer was whipped by a mob, and in Florida, an archdeacon of the English Episcopal Church was both whipped, tarred, and feathered for daring to criticize the Klan. 1/

Things got very warm for a while, so Clarke and Simmons decided to retire from the movement. The latter was succeeded by a Texas dentist named Hiram Wesley Evans, who referred to himself, perhaps with some justice, as "the most average man in America." 2/

Early in 1921, the Klan's membership was conservatively estimated at 125,000. The Congressional investigations and the "exposures" in a series of syndicated articles

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1/ Literary Digest, August 27, 1921, vol. 70, p. 12
2/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 66

appearing in the "New York World" had just the effect intended by the leaders of the Klan, who reported shortly thereafter that their membership was increasing by 5,000 per day. 1/

By 1924, the Klan's membership had reached the staggering total of 4,500,000 persons. Already, it had begun to throw its weight around in all the communities in which it had won a measure of local support:

a. In New York, on November 23, 1922, Mayor Hylan ordered the Police Commissioner to drive the Ku-Klux Klan out of the city, but a short time later, a Klansman defied the Mayor in a sermon delivered from the pulpit of a Brooklyn church despite a police guard. 2/

b. At Lilly, Pennsylvania, a predominantly Catholic community, two persons were killed and thirteen seriously injured when an attempt was made to repel five hundred Klansmen who had arrived from Johnstown by train "to give the Micks something to think about." 3/

1/ Literary Digest, September 24, 1921, vol. 70, p. 34
2/ New York Times, December 11, 1922, p. 1, col. 1 (Washington Avenue Baptist Church)
3/ E. H. Loucks, The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, pp. 56-7

c. In one of the displays of its new-found power, the Klan, 40,000 strong and led by Imperial Wizard Evans, paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nation's capital. 1/

The Ku-Klux Klan had become big business. National Headquarters was receiving $4.00 out of each $10.00 "donation" fee required of newcomers. In addition, Klansmen were charged $5.00, later $6.50, for each robe, required paraphernalia for each member in good standing and manufactured in a robe factory owned by a group of the National leaders. 2/

The Klan began to throw its weight around in National politics. It intimidated candidates for office in the South and elected high officials in Ohio, Indiana, California, and Oregon as well. It took a keen interest in immigration restriction and claimed a considerable share of the glory for the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. This Act, the so-called Johnson Law, established quotas with a view to reducing immigration from Asia and southern and eastern Europe. 3/

1/ New York Times, August 9, 1925, p. 1, col. 8
2/ E. H. Loucks, The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, p. 80
3/ Charles A. Beard, Rise of American Civilization, II, pp. 767-8

At the height of its power, the Klan is alleged to have had over 6,000,000 members in almost every part of the Union. 1/ The direction of its persecution in each section of the country varied, depending upon local conditions. In the South, the Negro provided the main target. This was accomplished by "Jim Crow" Legislation, and brutal terror if the laws failed. In many sections of the North, where the Jews constituted a sizable minority, there was a good deal of anti-Semitic prejudice in the form of boycotts, quotas at institutions of higher learning, exclusion from resorts, etc. Many non-Klansmen adopted this pattern of bigotry. 2/

In other communities, Catholics offered the most inviting target. This prejudice was sedulously fostered among Protestants in the lower economic strata. 3/ It was abetted by such publications as "The Menace", a sordid periodical which specialized in all the hoary tales of misdoings in the convents, and "The American Standard", the vicious organ of the Klan. The Catholics were accused of having assassinated Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley. These tales

1/ Morison and Commager, Growth of the American Republic, p. 558
2/ Henry Ford sponsored wide-spread publication of the "Protocols of Zion", an alleged plot by the Jews to rule the world, later proved to be forgeries.
3/ Frederick L. Allen, Only Yesterday, p. 67

were used quite effectively against the Presidential candidacy of Al Smith which he missed in 1924 and achieved in 1928. 1/

For nearly a decade the Klan went about its violent way, and thoughtful men saw in it the potential basis for an American fascist movement. Eventually, this period of hate ran its course. Americans began to tire of the alarms sounded by the self-constituted defenders of "White Protestant" America, and, by 1929, the membership in the Klan started to dwindle seriously. In the end, however, its decline was due to internal rot rather than through external opposition. 2/

During the 1930's, the Klan became increasingly another patriotic society, applauding larger Army-Navy appropriations, expressing good will toward the rising ogre of Adolf Hitler for his anti-Semitism, and generally shifting targets from Catholics, Jews, and Negroes to "Communists." Its role during this period was singularly unimportant. Liberalism, nurtured by the severe depression, held sway, and the once-eager Klan members continued to drift away quietly. They stayed away during World War II.

1/ Mauritz Hallgren, Landscape of Freedom, p. 385
2/ Morison and Commager, Growth of the American Republic, p. 558

The Ku-Klux Klan has experienced a recent rejuvenation in the South in the post-World War II years concomitant with current attempts to precipitate a "witch-hunt." A number of hooded attacks have occurred in Alabama, Georgia, and other States in the 1948-1949 period. For the first time, however, the Klan's resurgence is being viewed with something less than universal approbation among the people of the South. Alabama has enacted a law prohibiting the use of hoods in public. Other States are considering similar legislation. The Federal Government is watching events very closely. 1/

5. Conclusions

The end of World War I was accompanied by violent social upheavals. The anxieties generated during the conflict did not cease the moment hostilities ended. They were reflected in the "Red menace" witch-hunt of Attorney General A. Milchell Palmer which induced a greater measure of fear and anxiety.

Into this setting of uncertainty stepped the Ku-Klux Klan with its high spiritual philosophy on a National scale and its low order of brutality and terror on a local

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1/ Whether the South is serious about repressing the Klan is still a matter of conjecture. The "Washington Post" reported on August 6, 1949, that the first convictions of the Alabama anti-hooding law were returned -- against two Negroes.

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scale. Even where there were no mob outrages led by village bigots, there was at least the threat of them. As the white-robed army paraded, the burning cross glowed across the countryside, and people whispered to one another in the darkness and wondered "who they are after this time", fear and suspicion stalked large sections of America.

Furthermore, criminals and gangs of hoodlums quickly learned to take advantage of the Klan's existence. If they wanted to burn some one's barn or raid the local Negro section of town, they could do it with impunity now. The Klan would be blamed and officials would look the other way. Anyone could chalk the letters "KKK" on a fence and be sure that the sheriff would move warily. Thus, as in the case of the "Red" hysteria, a movement conceived in fear perpetuated fear and brought with it all manner of cruelties and crimes.

As the 1920's passed into the 1930's, the war-time emotions ebbed. Withal, the power of the Klan waned, until in many districts it was dead, and in others it had become merely a political faction dominated by spoilsmen. Yet, throughout its strut in the National limelight, it remained a thing of terror to millions of men and women.